

JPRS-UPS-87-013

3 MARCH 1987

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

3 MARCH 1987

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

- Usmankhodzhayev Assails Religious Influence in UzSSR
(I. B. Usmankhodzhayev; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 5 Oct 86) 1

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

- PRAVDA Discusses Ideological Work in Tajik SSR
(N. Kozhanov, O. Latifi; PRAVDA, 11 Dec 86) 24
- East German Professor Attacks Idea of Steppe Feudalism
(Burkhardt Brent'veske Interview; BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK,
No 10, Oct 86) 30

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

- Moscow Weekly Sees 'Commotion' Among Emigres
(B. Ivanov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 14 Jan 87) 31
- KaSSR: Local Papers Taken To Task Over Lack of Impact
(SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 12 Dec 86) 41

RELIGION

- Unregistered Baptists' Illegal Activities Examined
(V. Razboynikov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 2 Nov 86) 42
- BSSR: Statistics on Religious Believers in Rural Areas
(V. Laptinok; SELSKAYA GAZETA, 28 Oct 86) 44
- More Aggressive Atheist Propaganda Among Baptists Urged
(L. Talymov; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 10, Oct 86) 47

CULTURE

- TV Version of Burlatskiy Play Reviewed
(I. Kashchenkov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 20 Dec 86) 54

Tarkovsky Films Popular With Russian Youth (Tatyana Khloplyankina; MOSCOW NEWS, No 2, Jan 18-25, 87)	57
Moscow 'Studio Theater' Experiment Discussed (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 22 Jan 87)	59
Russian Theater Seen as 'Elitist' (MOSCOW NEWS, No 2, Jan 18-25 87)	60
Gumilev's African Diaries Discussed (German Dryubin; MOSCOW NEWS, No 1, 4 Jan 87)	62
Alma-Ata Tourist Guides Speak Only Russian (Abdimutal Al-ibekov; QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, 5 Dec 86)	64
Briefs Yoko Ono Interviewed	65

SOCIAL ISSUES

Moscow TV Interviews Returnees From U.S. (Yu. Rostov, L. Mirzoyev; Moscow Television Service, 30 Dec 86)	66
Moscow Views Return of Exiles From U.S. (Petr Fedorov; Moscow Domestic Service, 9 Jan 87)	68
Former Soviet Citizens Return Home From U.S. (TASS, 12 Jan 87)	70
Emigre Family Discusses Recent Return to USSR (TASS, 19 Dec 86)	71
Icon Smugglers Sentenced to Long Imprisonment (TASS International Service, 23 Dec 86)	72
Lituanian Sociologists Study Youth Work Attitudes (Liliana Gutauskene; KOMMUNIST, No 10, Oct 86)	73
Work of Georgian Public Opinion Institute, Center Noted (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 26, 28 Nov 86)	78
Juvenile Crime Discussed	78
Poor Preparation for State Inspection	79
Georgian Public Opinion Center Poll of Openness, Party Work (N. Popkhadze; PRAVDA, 16 Dec 86)	85
Georgian Red Cross Steps Up Anti-Alcohol Efforts (S. Amiridze; MOLODEZH GRUZII, 4 Nov 86)	89
Georgian Public Opinion Institute Looks at Narcotics Addiction (ZARYA VOSTOKA, 25 Dec 86)	89

Kazakh Psychiatrist Describes Hashish Abuse Causes, Effects (G. Zaltsman; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Dec 86)	90
Kazakh Editorial on School Discipline Crackdown (Editorial; AQZAQSTAN MEKTEBI, No 10, Oct 86)	94
KaSSR: New Era for Vocational Schools (Editorial; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 10 Dec 86)	94
City Kazakh Children Have Poorer Kazakh Vocabularies (M. Zhumabekova; QAZAQSTAN MUGHALIMI, 12 Dec 86)	95
Accidents Mean Production Loss, Court Complications (P. Baymukhanov; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 10 Dec 86)	95

REGIONAL ISSUES

Siberian Obkom Chief Describes Regional Restructuring (V. Sitnikov; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, No 23, Dec 86)	96
Letters Decry Disregard for Ecology (R. Fedorov; PRAVDA, 13 Dec 86)	105
Letter Scores Indifference to Environmental Protection (L. Boyeva; PRAVDA, 22 Nov 86)	110
Briefs IZVESTIYA Report on Private Taxis in Riga	113

/7310

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

USMANKHODZHAYEV ASSAILS RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE IN UzSSR

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 Oct 86 p 1-3

[Report by Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary I.B. Usmankhodzhayev at 3rd Plenum of Uzbek Party Central Committee: "Tasks for Republic Party Organizations for Further Increasing the Effectiveness of Ideological Work in the Light of the Requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress"; passages enclosed in slant bars printed in boldface in text]

[Excerpts] Our plenum is taking place in a very important and responsible period in the activity of the party and the people, at a sharp turning point in the life of Soviet society. The concept of acceleration developed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress is a major achievement of Marxist-Leninist thought, and is the most complete expression of the objective requirements of the contemporary stage of the country's development.

The mission of our plenum is the universal definition of a complex of measures for fundamentally restructuring the style and methods of the political-educational work of the party organizations and all ideological establishments in the republic in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress. And above all we must work out new approaches to organizing ideological, labor and moral education; to strive for its organic unity with organizational and economic activities; and to carry out purposeful work for the formation of a harmoniously-developed, socially active person, capable of putting the party's creative plans into action.

Today there is an urgent need to thoroughly analyze the ideological reasons for the widespread negative phenomena in the republic in order to determine, on the basis of the lessons of the past, ways and directions for work on restructuring and improving all ideological-political activity in the light of the present needs of the party.

What are these basic needs?

/First of all/, over the past two decades idealization of the historical past and departure from class positions in analyzing certain historical events and personalities have become widespread in the social sciences, in literature, art, and other spheres of spiritual life in the republic. This, on the one hand, has disoriented the masses with respect to the subject of

national pride, and has done real damage to the matter of international education; and on the other hand, it has created an ideological platform for praising the "little tsars and rich farmers" with party cards--which has caused ideological wavering among many cadres.

/Secondly/, in the republic an active and continuing process of mixing religious dogma with everyday consciousness has been taking place in many cadres. This has led to an actual spiritual compromise with religion. As a result, it's as if part of the people have acquired a dual personality: the socio-political personality appears when they fight for our ideals; and their everyday personality, when they observe religious rites. The one is skillfully employed on the job, and the other at home with their family.

/Thirdly/, in educational work there is a lack of clear-cut direction with respect to broad affirmation of the Soviet way of life and the principles of communist morality. This has led to changing the shape of a number of native customs and traditions; stereotypes have appeared and have taken root in the consciousness of part of the populace--stereotypes which are in conflict with the spirit of our society, and which lead to erosion of its moral principles and of one's evaluation of situations and positions in life.

Even one of the finest traditions of our people has been distorted--that of respect for the wisdom of the elders, for the Aksakals [village elders]. The tradition has automatically begun to shift to those senior in rank, who occupy a higher position in society. Many leading cadres, considering this the norm, have begun to demand obeisance and servility of their subordinates; a complex of personal infallibility and licentiousness has sprung up among them. All this has given birth to a cult of official position of the first order; to an atmosphere of intolerance of criticism and self-criticism and openness in their work; and has led to violation of democratic principles in the activities of party, Soviet and state organizations, as well as the working collectives.

/Fourthly/ and finally, gross violations of Leninist principles of selection of cadres, including ideological principles, have occurred; these violations have led to a situation in which our ideological apparatus is still operating unilaterally, and is divorced from concrete practical matters; quite often it continues to create an atmosphere of ostentation and the illusion of wellbeing; it glosses over shortcomings, and it does not always support the healthy critical voice of the communists and the workers.

Among many people all of this gives rise to lack of faith in the solemnity of justice and truth, and leads to an alarming social phenomenon--passivity, indifference, and an uncomplaining acceptance of the wrongdoing of responsible persons. One must acknowledge that political activeness has declined in a number of labor collectives, and to this very day remains in a semi-conscious state.

As you can see, a rather complex ideological situation has evolved in the republic. Today the primary task of our party organization is to derive serious lessons from the past, and to rapidly restructure our thinking and

our attitudes toward the business of all cadres and all workers. Consequently, we must be more bold to smash everything that is outmoded or stale and reaffirm criticism and self-criticism, social justice, innovation and patriotism.

Thus far the indicators for agricultural production do not show any great advances, but one must take note of the fact that at present reconstruction of livestock farms is going on at a more rapid rate: feed preparation plants, grain storage facilities and feedlots are being constructed; and a lot more harvesting machinery was sent to the fields this year.

Yesterday we received CSA [Central Statistical Administration] data on work results for the first nine-months: our ideological and, if you will, our moral features are reflected in all of this, as in a mirror. Milk deliveries to the state were short by 2,800 tons in the republic; which brings to mind the saying, that one day is not enough for a poor student. And the climax of the cotton harvest could not be called a climax in certain regions; results were too mixed, and there was too much indecisiveness for today's complex situation.

In short, Comrades, much of the results of our work testifies to the fact that there are still quite a few party committees, ministries and departments in the republic which have not yet given proper attention to political-educational work; they put up with laxity and indiscipline, and they are passive in the face of complexities and difficulties.

Serious miscalculations in economic as well as in organizational-political and ideological work are especially evident in the fact that since the beginning of the year the republic has failed to supply almost 200 million rubles worth of contracted production. A significant number of deliveries were disrupted by enterprises of the Navoi, Samarkand, and Tashkent Oblasts. These are very alarming figures. After all, what does failing to meet deliveries mean? It means disrupting the work of closely-connected enterprises, and letting down one's fellow-workers.

In recent times we have delivered quite a few lectures; we have held talks, and have taken other propagandistic measures to strengthen production and labor discipline. However, mismanagement, nonproductive expenditures, and loss of work time continue to cause enormous harm to the republic's economy. In the last six-month period, hundreds of thousands of man-days have been lost, and products worth over 50 million rubles have not been supplied. The problem of labor discipline is especially acute at enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, where G.G. Isayev is the minister, and R.I. Grunau is secretary of the party organization.

A serious obstacle in the way of perfecting ideological and educational work is the unreliability and irresponsibility which has taken root in the actions of many of our economic administrators. One could cite a long list of those who, by their actions, are giving second priority to general state and general party interests--which gives birth to a chain reaction of acceptance of failure, and to frustration of state plans and tasks.

Take, for example, M.Kh. Kurbanov, minister of light industry. How many times has he brought various samples to the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers? Children's clothing, sports outfits, young people's clothing, and shoes: and in fact, the ministry is not producing any of these new items. Where, in the case in point, is the adherence to party principles or the honor of the administrator? And what sort of example does this set for his subordinates? And indeed, it is precisely with the personal example of the supervisor that the educational factor begins.

Or, let us say, why have the republic State Agro-Industrial Commission and the administrator himself, I.Kh. Dzhurabekov, had so little success? Because there is so much fuss, so many directives, and myriads of papers and circulars—and not enough work with people, with the cadres and specialists.

There are serious flaws in ideological work and in the consciences of party leaders, starting with the first secretaries of the party obkoms; and yes—I must admit in a self-critical manner, with the secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. Let's tell the whole story: V.A. Antonov and A.S. Ikramov continue to spur on the activity of the departments they head, through managerial approaches; but they take little interest in the human factor. Or take the activity of N.T. Turapov, first secretary of the Kashka-Darya Party Obkom, who from the time he was elected to this post right up to the present day has failed to cope with the sector of work entrusted to him in terms of a number of indicators. We know that this oblast is not one of the easiest, but this means that one must operate in a special way, through people, by educating them. Here various teams from the republic center, from institutions and governmental departments are doing more work with the people than the local aktiv which, incidentally, are capable of doing the work.

And here's another example. First Secretary of the Bukhara party obkom, I. Dzhabbarov, has of late displayed admirable persistence in his judgements on back-breaking plans. But this is a cause of genuine harm. The conservatism of the oblast managers today is actually holding back the mechanization of the cotton harvest; at present, not without his participation, they are struggling—not for acceleration, but for slowing down mechanization.

In 1987 it is planned to reduce production of consumer goods at a rate of one ruble from the wage fund, and to reduce capital investments for housing. Procurement plans for grain, potatoes and astrakhan wool are being established at a level lower than that actually achieved.

Today in the republic, at dozens of enterprises, and at the Samarkand refrigerator plant in particular, people do not even know their own obligations, and do not realize that they are operating at a loss, or that they are living off government subsidies. They go for months without updating their indicator charts, and they are not introducing progressive experience.

In a number of collectives they quietly put up with those who violate labor discipline, with brawlers and shirkers—and sometimes they even cover up for them; they do not condemn from a principled position the offenses of people which are incompatible with Soviet morality and the Soviet way of life. We are seriously disturbed by the fact that in certain places they still do not

always wage a determined struggle with such monstrous social phenomena as drunkenness, parasitism, and narcotics addiction. During the first eight months of this year, quite a few drunks have been picked up on the streets and in other public places. Many of them, among whom were CPSU and Komsomol members, were sent to medical sobering-up stations.

A number of people who had been growing and selling narcotics were exposed.

Party committees are increasing their requirements and demandingness on communists for observing the Regulations--to master Marxist-Leninist theories, and to expand their political horizons.

For the last two years an experiment in restructuring the system of party education has been conducted at the primary party organizations of Chirchik, and the Kommunisticheskiy and Tashkentskiy Rayons. Here they have reduced the form of training by one-third, and have tied-in studies more closely with production.

On the whole the practical direction of the studies has improved, and they are more closely tied-in with the concrete matters of the working collectives. As a result, in the experimental classes the academic year was more organized, the interest of the students in political and economic training increased markedly, and there were increased yields in practical matters.

Party organs in Namangan Oblast have had noteworthy experiences in setting up socio-political centers at enterprises and on farms. Party, komsomol and economic training are concentrated at the centers; they have been furnished with technical equipment, and have added propagandists to the staff.

However, on the whole the state of political and economic training in the republic still does not meet today's needs. Formalism and ostentation in organization of studies are still widespread phenomena.

Increasing instances of manipulation of figures of the so-called scope of the training and even occasional blatant deception are cause for great alarm. For example, in the Nukuskiy Rayon of Kara-Kalpak ASSR, during the last academic year, out of more than 100 schools and seminars inspected, classes were being held in only five. However, according to the certificates signed by Raykom First Secretary I. Doshchanov without a twinge of conscience, the organizers of political education were found worthy to be recommended for awards. And these are not isolated instances.

Today, life presents especially high demands on theoretical training of supervisors and propagandists. In the republic only one out of every five supervisory workers has had higher party and political education. Many of the party organizations at scientific institutions and VUZ's do not consider it necessary to raise the level of political training of their communists. In the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, for example, 29 doctors and 624 candidates of sciences are not enrolled in the party-political training system, and consider it superfluous. And neither the party committee at the Institute nor the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education [Minvuz], nor the Oktyabrskiy party raykom find this disturbing. The Parkentskiy and Bukharskiy Raykoms, and the Almalyk party gorkom have essentially curtailed the political training of the party and managerial aktiv.

Propaganda lectures as well as oral and visual agitation need to be decisively restructured and energized. Soviet man is an educated and cultured man, and one cannot converse with him in mindless official jargon, decorated with trite phrases. The form of mass agitation work must be reexamined, and its center must be moved directly to the labor collectives.

The Academy of Sciences and its president, P.K. Khabibullayev, are still doing a poor job in carrying out the party's requirements for widespread application of the social sciences to specific, practical needs; and for the scientists to react swiftly to the changes going on in our lives.

We do not yet have in-depth works on a broad complex of problems associated with the scientific-technical revolution. Is it really normal that to this day we do not have scientifically-based forecasts for the development of productive forces, nor an accurate analysis of the state of the republic's labor resources? Sociological research is being conducted at an extremely low level.

One also encounters serious distortions--such, for example, as were committed in the third edition of "Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR" [The History of the Uzbek SSR] and the Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia. In them the activity of the party in combining the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with the national liberation movement in the period of preparations for the October Revolution is oversimplified, and they have done a poor job of exposing the traitorous role of the national bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary essence of Basmachestvo.

The Party History Institute headed by Kh.T. Tursunov also requires restructuring. Historical-party research has little to do with the activity of the Uzbek Communist Party after the 16th Central Committee Plenum. There are essentially no works on the struggle of the republic party organization with the gross violations of Leninist principles and norms of party life which had taken place; on the causes and ways to overcome negative phenomena; and on forms and methods of party work in the economic reconstruction process.

It must be noted that in recent years the magazines KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA and PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN [Party Life] have not published a single critical review on works by social scientists.

The Institute of Philosophy and Law and other leading academic institutions thus far have been unable to specify the priority directions for research which would be a prerequisite for raising social production to a qualitatively new level. The corresponding academy department, headed by Vice-President E. Yusupov, is also carrying out its coordinating role poorly.

It is time to introduce order to the training of the new generation of scientists, and put an end to protectionism in accepting applicants to graduate school, which is today badly contaminated with people who do not possess the required preparation and aptitude. Things have come to such a pass, that L.T. Ikramov and S.M. Makhkamov, department heads at the Tashkent Pharmacological Institute, helped their children to graduate from that very same institute, enter the graduate school, remain in their departments, and

write their dissertation under their parents' direct supervision. And unfortunately, these are not isolated instances. Measures must be taken to radically improve the training of scientific cadres, and to formulate, nurture and cultivate the young people's ability to think independently and creatively.

The artistic intelligentsia have an exceptionally important role to play in man's spiritual development. Its best representatives have never isolated themselves from the concerns experienced by the party and the people. Among the aktiv of our creative workers there are truly talented people whose works are thoroughly imbued with high party principles and the truth, who are carrying on the best traditions of the Soviet multinational culture.

Today these traditions require further development. Under conditions in which the party and the people are struggling to solve new historical tasks, cultural figures are called upon to depict this dynamic process in brilliant and talented works which are capable of accelerating it.

Specific tasks have been discussed at national and republic-level congresses of creative unions. Their activity requires serious restructuring. Above all they must renounce and be purged of everything harmful and alien which crept into artistic creativity in the situation which obtained in the republic in the recent past, when show and ostentation, placidity and failure to adhere to principle held sway. It gave birth to a series of drab books, films, plays, and pictures which lacked ideological and artistic value. Authors appeared with tendencies toward hack-work, narrow-mindedness, and speculation on timely topics, which easily leads to deals with one's conscience.

The idealization of the past, and a non-class and anti-historical approach has led to a situation in which theatrical productions, films and books which once covered a broad range of topics, are populated with feudal despots like Timur [Tamerlane], who are depicted by the thoughtless hands of certain writers, in spite of historical truth, as humanists and far-sighted politicians. Primkul Kadirov did not possess sufficient class maturity to perceive that Babur [a descendent of Timur] was a typical Medieval man. The writer sheds rivers of tears over an allegedly enlightened monarch, subtle lyricist and historian, ignoring his true actions as a conquerer.

Such short-sightedness is not as harmless as it might seem at first glance. Behind it is an attempt to rewrite history, to create nostalgia for patriarchy and to represent Islam as if it were the keeper of national culture.

Overcoming all these extraneous developments must be viewed by communists and all cultural figures as top priority political and creative tasks.

It was stressed at a meeting with creative intelligentsia at the Uzbek CP Central Committee, that in supervising the development of literature and art, we must be bolder in rejecting rule by decree and subjective evaluations, and even more so in imposing one's personal tastes. Greater independence should be given to the creative soviets themselves in solving creative problems, and an increased role and responsibility should be given to the creative collectives and their primary party organizations.

The party's concern for culture is inseparable from its respect, restraint, fairness, and good will with regard to the strivings of writers, composers, or artists; and at the same time it is also exacting when one begins to speak of any kind of departure from class and party analyses of the reality of life or the norms of communist morality. But when a breakdown develops in such an atmosphere, there is an inevitable loss of creative ardor.

For example, there was a severe loss of status at the academic drama theater imeni Khamza, where squabbles, intrigues, and the enormous ambition of certain actors was not met by active opposition from the party organization.

For a long time cliquishness and dissention devoured the creative atmosphere at the theater imeni Navoi, and among cinematographers and composers. Someone unable to find the courage to admit his creative ineptitude tries to enliven his productions with demagogic declarations on the purported strangulation of the rights of the artists or on persecution for telling the truth, establishing for himself an aura of the lone fighter against negative phenomena in art.

Meanwhile, the Uzbekistan Writers' Union and its new leadership are very timid in reorganizing its activity. For a year and a half U.R. Umarbekov has been the leader of the republic's writers' organization. This period is altogether sufficient to prove oneself. One does not get a feeling of direction here in spite of the fact that many problems are not being collectively discussed; whereas, various kinds of rumors, lobbying conversations, and whispering abound. All of this hinders real creativity. Unfortunately, similar phenomena are observed in other unions as well.

One would hope that the communists working in the creative unions would eventually succeed in making fundamental improvements in the atmosphere among the cultural figures, and create here the kind of atmosphere which would concentrate the artists' talent and spiritual powers on creating productions worthy of our time. There should be more criticism, creative demandingness, exactingness and good will toward one another's creative aspirations in the everyday work of these party organizations.

Special concern must be shown for the next generation of creative artists. One cannot but be disturbed by the fact that among the Composers' Union, for example, only 1.0 percent is younger than 30, and that it is at times exceedingly difficult for young, capable people to be published, to show a film, or put on a play or exhibition. Not long ago the bureau of the Uzbek CP Central Committee adopted a special resolution on further improving work with creative young people. Creative unions, party committees and cultural organs must constantly keep the resolution in their sphere of attention, in order that it might be carried out.

The organization of literary-artistic criticism requires fundamental improvements. It must be removed once and for all from the sphere of service of the authors' self-admiration. The use of slick formulas, undeserved laudatory epithets, overexposure of some authors and at times the unfounded and indiscriminant destruction of others, ought to be eliminated.

The democratization of creative life makes it necessary to radically restructure the supervision of cultural development. Incidentally, red tape and bureaucracy still prevail in the republic ministry of culture. Minister M.A. Akhmedova has thus far been extremely slow in overcoming sluggishness and bureaucracy in her staff.

Neither M.A. Akhmedova herself nor many of her officials yet have a conception of the true state of affairs in many sectors of cultural development, and no restructuring is yet evident in their work. In spite of the demands of the central committee, selection of cadres on the basis of friendship continues. The administrators of the ministry are not occupying themselves with strengthening the material base; they do not visit construction sites for theaters, palaces and houses of culture; and they are doing a poor job in assimilating the resources allocated to them. On these questions there are no firm contacts with the ispolkoms of the local soviets.

We are counting on the fact that the present criticism at the central committee plenum will serve as a serious signal for fundamentally restructuring the work of this department.

One cannot but speak of our motion pictures as well. This sector of work is headed by A.A. Turayev, and not everything is rosy here either. It says a great deal that the intervention of the central committee was required in order that the film "Proshchay, zelen leta" [Farewell O Green of Summer], an acutely interesting film on negative phenomena in the republic, could be shown to the audience. With every appeal to party principles, today we must pass judgement on the work of the film distribution service, where commercial and not ideological considerations are foremost--and this is doing a great deal of harm to the cause of communist education.

Party committees must bear increased responsibility for the actions of the cultural and artistic establishments. The ideological and artistic level of productions, films and plays, and the moral-political atmosphere in the creative unions and organizations must be an object of constant concern for the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. In all of this the properly firm position of the central committees' cultural department is not felt. Its chief, D.T. Madykarymova has not delved deeply into the life and affairs of the party organizations, and has not found the necessary business contacts with the creative workers.

The press, TV and radio, which appeal every day to millions of Soviet people, play an enormous role in shaping public opinion and in restructuring mass consciousness.

In the republic work on presenting the classics of Marxism-Leninism, children's books, and atheist literature has not been organized satisfactorily. Eloquent testimony on the kind of guideposts for living the people are getting from our publishing houses is the fact that the books of Khamza, and the democratic poets Mukimi and Furkata are published much less than various kinds of poet laureates. And yet, in the recent past only four books by Sh. Rashidov were published 135 times with a circulation of more than one million copies.

The practice of reproducing many publications--textbooks, magazines and local newspapers is beneath criticism; the book trade has been put in a very bad position.

S. Sh. Kurbanov and the board of Goskomizdat [UzSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] has thus far done a poor job in establishing order in this important sector of ideological work.

At a conference with the heads of the mass information media, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, "You have to fight, literally fight, for every line in the resolutions of the party congress." All of our press organs must be effective weapons against conservatism, indifference and stagnation; they must be more bold to involve themselves in life, take up complex issues, and carry on a frank and competent discussion with the readers, the viewers and listeners.

In the work of many of the republic's mass information organs, the level of openness and criticism of shortcomings continues to lag behind that of the central press; many publications and broadcasts are bland, and are divorced from real life. We are disturbed by the fact that mistakes, and at times very serious ones, have begun to appear in the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA (G.G. Neklessa, editor).

The board of editors of the newspaper SOVET UZBEKISTONI (L.P. Kayumov, editor) has not taken the trouble to find ways to improve its work. It lacks aggressiveness; it does not delve deeply into the essence of problems; and it does not take a critical approach toward illuminating the work being carried out in the republic, toward rooting out the consequences of negative phenomena, toward accelerating socio-economic development and intensification of production. The newspaper deals timidly with questions of atheist education. It's as if it is trying to avoid sharp corners and is afraid of offending anyone--that is, it continues to operate the same old way.

The editors of the newspapers KISHLOK KHAKIKATI, SELSKAYA PRAVDA, LENIN-BAYRAGY, and KHAKIKATI UZBEKISTON still have a great deal to accomplish. And the Uzbek Information Agency must strive for greater clarity and substance in its reporting.

One cannot perceive any truly profound changes in the activities of Gosteleradio [UzSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]. The programs broadcasted contain a large amount of didactic conversations and presentations which lack substance, and an inordinate amount of time is devoted to entertainment programs which are hardly of the best quality. The management of Gosteleradio and its chairman, I.T. Yusupova, must fundamentally reorganize the work of radio and TV broadcasting, and must more fully utilize their creative and technical abilities to clearly present the acute problems and the actions taken by the appropriate administrators to solve them.

Persistently increasing the effectiveness of the programs of the mass information media is a most important task for party committees. One quite often finds here manifestations of ambition, silencing, suppression of criticism,

and persecution for it. It was no isolated instance, when the Tashkent party gorkom and gorispolkom, and the leaders of the party and soviet organs of Samarkand, Bukhara, Kashka-Darya, Tashkent and Fergana Oblasts failed to respond to criticism in the republic's press. Well--if the party and soviet organs do not understand the significance of the press as one of the party's sharpest weapons, then who in the world can set the example for a realistic attitude toward criticism?

At present there have been almost no changes in the work of oblast, city and rayon newspapers. They continue to attune themselves to the instructions of the most important people; they do not raise problems boldly and independently; and if they do pose such questions, they do not always find the proper support on the part of the party organs. And it's simply totally unacceptable that in some places the party committees are regulating the work of the press and are telling the editors what to write about and how, and what not to write about. It is an established fact that such events were permitted in the Khorezm and Kashka-Darya party obkoms, and in the Navbahkrskiy, Dekhkanabadskiy, Yazyavanskiy, and Khatyrchinskiy party raykoms.

Nearly 20 supervisors were fired in Turtkul'skiy Rayon. But the raykom did not consider it necessary to report in their newspaper on the reasons for the downfall of these people. Numerous instances of deception, pilferage, distortion of figures and other violations were exposed in the rayon; but evidently even their newspaper, not without the help of the raykom, evades the issue with silence.

The party committee must help and support its press organ, while avoiding petty carping and fault-finding. The position taken by the party obkom of non-intervention in the affairs of the newspaper SYRDARINSKAYA PRAVDA led to gross violations and mistakes, and to the downfall of the board of editors. There was a similar situation at the board of editors of SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA, but for a long time the party obkom was unable to come to grips with the worsening situation, and take effective measures for its normalization. And this is why constant attention to the mass information media is necessary. It is important to regularly inform journalists of the state of affairs and support their critical reporting--and not permit suppression of criticism, but assist in every way to develop and support their creative initiative.

The Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation, headed by S. Kurbonov, displays little initiative in this matter, and has slacked off on its work in supervision of the press. The work of the press sector was examined at the Uzbek CP Central Committee in connection with the numerous errors, some of which are grievous. The Department of Propaganda and Agitation was repeatedly cited for its perfunctory supervision of the press; however, thus far no concrete results can be seen.

The mass information and propaganda media and the ideological establishments must step up their struggle with bourgeois ideology. The amount of foreign radio broadcasting to Uzbekistan has been increasing of late, and a campaign of slander has been intensified for the purpose of arousing the religious and nationalistic feelings of the local populace and undermining the friendship of the nations.

Our task is to convincingly show the achievements and advantages of genuine socialism and to expose the anti-national, inhuman nature of imperialism and its essentially exploitative nature. It is very important to propagandize extensively the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the decisive actions of the Soviet state for eliminating the threat of war and strengthening international security.

The intensification of the ideological battle demands serious improvements in the foreign broadcasting operations of Radio Tashkent, the republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Uzbek Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, the Watan Society, the magazine SOVETSKIY UZBEKISTAN, the newspaper OYDIN, and the Raduga Publishing House affiliate.

The Information and Foreign Relations Department of the Central Committee (E.K. Khaitbayev), party committees, ministries and departments have not always thoroughly examined the results of trips abroad by specialists, nor have tourists always been well-prepared.

On the whole we must admit that serious shortfalls have been permitted in the republic's social development; until recently, party, soviet, and economic organs have not devoted the proper attention to this. The task set by the party congress--to ensure that by the year 2000 every family has its own apartment--is for us especially urgent and pressing. Today in Uzbekistan there are 240,000 families on waiting lists for an apartment, and 71,000 persons on the list for kindergartens and child care institutions; and, public catering and transport operations are not organized satisfactorily. In everyday services, and in providing libraries and clubs to the public, Uzbekistan occupies last place in the country.

Breakdowns in plans for social development are unacceptable; thus the work of the managers of Glavtashkentstroy [Tashkent Main Construction Administration] (K.P. Dunin), which for the past five years has undersupplied over 100,000 square meters of housing area, and a significant amount of preschool and medical institutions, deserves the most severe censure. In Dzhhizak Oblast, year after year the plans for introduction of socio-cultural and domestic-services establishments have broken down. And the leaders of the obispolkom (A.Sh. Khabibullayev, chairman) throw up their hands and can only complain about the lack of housing and the lack of facilities at virgin land sovkhozes. But after all, the Soviet organs already have sufficient authority to make the managers genuinely answerable for these problems. And this authority must be used more boldly in the workers' interests.

Since the beginning of the year more than 110,000 labor safety violations have been exposed. Enterprises of the chemical and machine-building industries do not have enough public and domestic sanitation facilities. Working conditions for people on farms and livestock complexes are beneath criticism.

Trade union organizations peer through their fingers at all of these serious lapses. Trade union committees--from enterprise to republic-level and Uzsovsprof [Uzbek SSR Trade Union Council] (Kh. Alimova)--are obligated to firmly

and persistently defend the interests of the working people; they must not be afraid to say what they mean and to make the proper demands of administrators whatever their rank, and not dance the Cracovienne, figuratively speaking, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in Krasnodar.

Party and trade union organizations must devote greater attention to protecting the health of the working people. Can one really consider it normal that of 3,500 enterprises and farms in the republic, only 140 have preventive clinics, capable of serving a total of 11,000 patients? Even many of the major associations do not have their own medical stations. And there are not enough hospitals and polyclinics in the cities and in the rural areas.

The bureau of the Central Committee recently examined the state of affairs in health care. The situation in this sector (S.M. Bakhramov, minister) on the whole is still unsatisfactory. A low level of professionalism is observed among many medical workers; the preventive medicine situation is poor; there are instances of extortion and inattention to the sick. There is a lot of illness in the country among children and women in childbirth; infectious hepatitis is widespread. The lack of the necessary municipal services and unsanitary conditions in production and domestic life, and violations of working and resting conditions have led to alarming indicators: in the last year alone, more than 37 million man-days were lost due to illness, and 230 million rubles were paid out on the basis of doctors' certificates.

In close association with improving working and living conditions is the solution of an extremely severe political, economic and social problem for the republic--that is, the use of existing /labor resources/. We examined this problem in detail among the republic's party and managerial aktiv, where G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, was subjected to severe criticism. He had been commissioned to head a special government commission on use of labor resources. But once again we must certify that the conclusions the commission reached were incomplete, and its work is not satisfactory. If this situation continues, we shall have to examine this question once again at the bureau.

The Ministry of Education and Minister O.S. Abbasova must be severely reproached. Two years have already passed since the beginning of the school reform, and there has still been no genuine restructuring of the preparation of young people for labor in the republic. Mentor enterprises are not rendering the required assistance in creating a base for industrial training; the minister is offering no suggestions whatsoever--and we do not intend to put up with this any longer.

The structure for vocational-technical education is also seriously deformed; it is oriented chiefly toward training cadres for agricultural work. Of the total number of students future industrial workers comprise only 19 percent.

Tasks for developing the system of vocational-technical schools [VTS] are systematically not carried out. During the last five-year plan the resources allocated to Gosprofobr [USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education] (P.K. Kayumov) were assimilated by only 79 percent. In Dzhizak, Navoi, Samarkand, and Tashkent Oblasts and in the city of Tashkent, VTS construction is especially slow.

The work of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education requires fundamental restructuring. It is time for Minister M. Salakhitdinov to genuinely get down to business.

Many ispolkoms of local soviets have neglected the matter of popular education; they are not concerned with building schools and furnishing them, nor with creating domestic and cultural conditions for the teaching staff. Ministries and departments, party committees and ispolkoms must change their attitude toward elementary and secondary schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's. Training and education must be considered a matter of interest to the entire nation and to the party in general. In accordance with instructions from the 27th Party Congress, Gosplan is to head up work on developing a unified system of continuous education and submit it to the Central Committee for examination.

Questions of /international and patriotic education/ must be constantly kept in mind by party committees and the ideological aktiv. "Our party's tradition, which began with Lenin," it was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, is to be especially sensitive and circumspect with respect to everything that concerns national policy, that touches upon the interests of every nation and people and the people's national feelings; and at the same time--to wage a principled struggle with manifestations of nationalistic narrow-mindedness and arrogance, nationalism and chauvinism, no matter how they are clothed."

That feelings of friendship and brotherhood are inherent in every person is of vital interest to our society. Unswerving adherence to Lenin's precepts, and applying them creatively in new conditions are the principal factors in this work.

Solving the problems of acceleration, developing the industrial branches critical to achieving scientific-technical progress, taking advantage of the achievements of the Soviet multinational culture, and mastering technology are impossible without /a profound knowledge of the Russian language/. It has become an integral part of the Soviet way of life, and serves as a powerful medium for strengthening the international contacts of the peoples of the USSR.

We have frequently spoken at length on this theme, but to this day the cardinal question has not been resolved. Moreover, attempts to overturn this work are observed. Not long ago, without any justification whatever, the Humanities Department of the Academy of Sciences and its administrators, Comrades Pugachenkova and Nazarov, closed the Russian Language and Literature Department at the Language and Literature Institute. One can't call this anything but political short-sightedness. It was necessary to take decisive measures to correct the situation, and the departments were reestablished by order of the Central Committee.

From time to time, party and soviet administrators attempt to cover up their lack of activity on this important problem for so-called objective reasons--the shortage of skilled instructors, lack of language media, and so on. We recently received a letter from 200 families, mostly Uzbek, who live in the housing tract at TashMI [expansion unknown]--who for a long time have been unable to get a Russian school for their children. And I suppose there are no cadres, nor language media in Tashkent?!

The UzSSR Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Training, and UzSSR Academy of Sciences, along with other interested organizations should develop a comprehensive Russian Language Program; summarize the experience accumulated in the country and the republic on quickly and soundly mastering a language; and persistently introduce this program, taking into consideration the specific features of national schools. The practice of training Russian language teachers must be reexamined in depth, and the material base for this activity must be strengthened. All of this work should be directed by the Central Committee Department of Science and Educational Institutions, and by N.T. Tukhliyev personally--who has yet to display the required persistence and energy in this matter.

/Cultural-educational and health-improving sports work/ are given a large role in the complex of educational measures, the activity of which has noticeably stepped up by virtue of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on club establishments and sports facilities. The task for the present is skilfull use of the existing capabilities.

Many administrators still do not wish to see that hundreds of clubs, houses of culture, libraries and museums are situated in inappropriate and even in dangerous facilities.

The republic DOSAAF Central Committee (A.M. Khodzhibayev) must carry out its functions as a popular defense organization more fully. War veterans and internationalist soldiers must be more actively recruited for developing the kinds of sports which have military application, for selecting candidates for military schools, and for propagandizing military traditions.

The Central Committee requires that the leaders of Soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, ministries and departments, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, turn their attention to the problems of culture and sport. This is not for amusement, but is a source of spiritual growth and the physical development of the individual; it is for improving the health of the people; and is one of the most important means for social development.

Solving the problems of today and the future is to a large extent determined by the type of young people we are educating today. A large portion of the republic's population is under 30 years old. The main role in all of this work belongs to the Komsomol--the party's aggressive helper in work among young people, and the vanguard of Soviet youth.

The UzSSR Komsomol Central Committee, its buro, and First Secretary D. Dadazhanova must reorganize themselves more efficiently, and must reject working in spurts and doing things for show. In order for the Komsomol to temper a person for his entire life, the work of Komsomol organizations must have the nature of a quest and must be interesting and attractive.

Many administrators, including party officials, rarely visit with the young people. Even at Komsomol reporting and election meetings, enterprise and farm administrators, secretaries of party organizations, representatives of party committees, do not always participate. For example, most of the buro members of the Tashkent party obkom could not find the time to visit a single Komsomol meeting in the oblast.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Komsomol obliges party committees and organizations to increase supervision of the youth movement, to devote greater attention to educating young people, and to delve more deeply into and react more acutely to their spiritual needs.

Solving economic and social problems is closely associated with intensifying the atheist education of the workers, and with overcoming the outmoded and harmful vestiges in the people's consciousness and behavior. In recent years this work has declined in the republic and in certain cities and rayons has come to naught. Belittling the danger of religious prejudices, camouflaging atheist education with declarative slogans, religious tolerance, and even openly flirting with the clergy have led to a resurgence of religion, and especially Islam.

Religion today is not simply a variety of anti-scientific philosophy: quite often religion becomes the ideological basis for the patriarchal style of life; it has a negative influence on social processes; and, it is used as a cover for all those who oppose rooting out the consequences of negative phenomena and bringing health to the moral-psychological atmosphere--who are trying to portray the work going on in the republic for strengthening discipline and order as if it were an anti-national campaign.

Meanwhile, work in our republic on giving wide exposure to the harmful effects of religion, and Islam in particular, is not going well. The result of this is that observation of religious rites is not on the decline. A significant portion of young people, women, and certain representatives of the intelligentsia, are captive to Moslem traditions. Even Komsomol members sanctify their marriages with religious rites. The funeral rites of many of the deceased, including CPSU members, are carried out according to religious canons.

Many reactionary traditions and rites have been resurrected and have become widespread. The most extremist element of the non-registered clergy is speaking out against the norms of the socialist way of life, and is committing gross violations of Soviet law.

Various kinds of charlatans, passing themselves off as ministers of a cult, have become established in practically every populated place and makhalla, where they preach the dogma of Islam unhindered, practice sorcery, and distribute literature, tape recordings and video films with religious content. As a rule such persons are not employed at socially-useful labor, and carry on a parasitical way of life. The affirmation by religious public opinion of the splendor of religious rites at home in the family, especially for weddings and funerals, is enducing people to seek unearned income and to engage in embezzlement.

The people are tired of all of this. Working people are bringing reports on the creation of an intolerable atmosphere of extortion, especially in connection with funerals and weddings, and of the creation of an atmosphere of alienation and condemnation around people who refuse to take part in religious observances.

lags in the solution of acute social problems and inattention to satisfying the demand and the increasing spiritual needs of the people are having an effect on the struggle with religious prejudices.

We must not underestimate the fact that our class enemies in their hostile propaganda are counting on stirring up religious and nationalist feelings. However, placidity and lack of concern have appeared among us with respect to the attempts by imperialist and Moslem reactionaries to utilize religion for antisoviet purposes. The mass information media and oral propaganda are not devoting the required attention to in-depth, well-argued criticism of the reactionary essence of Islam. Its class analysis in history and culture is often lacking in artistic productions, in commentaries, and in films.

Having seen all of this, incidentally, more than one of the republic's party committees, including the party Central Committee, has not reacted in a principled manner to the situation which has come to pass. Moreover, many party committees do not possess reliable information about the activities of the cult followers, and quite often conceal the true state of the religious situation. A number of administrators, including party committee first secretaries, do not follow up their declarations and statements on the necessity to oppose religion with concrete actions. They look the other way when communists and Komsomol members participate in religious rites and holidays.

Comrades, we must frankly state that the decisions which we have taken on strengthening atheist propaganda are not being carried out satisfactorily; often they do not even reach the primary party organizations, the ideological aktiv, and the communists. And this work is not well-organized in the Andizhan, Bukhara, Namangan and Tashkent party obkoms.

It is especially alarming that a significant number of communists, including party officials, are flirting with religion and are observing its rites and dictates. A. Yelemesov, former first secretary of the Tamyndskiy party raykom, arranged for his father to be buried in accordance with all the religious canons, in the presence of an enormous number of people. Among those dismissed from the party for observing religious rites were Kh. Mukhsinov, director of the spinning and weaving factory of the Bukhara textile combine; U. Yuldashev and A. Mirzabekov, directors of schools in the Gurlenskiy and Zaaminakiy Rayons; and T. Razykova, chairman of the Chindaulskiy village soviet--that is, precisely those people who should have been supervising atheist education.

At times intolerable conditions are created for those who are bold enough to speak out against religion. Moreover, all of this is done with the tacit approval of the party organs. The tribulations of M. Altybayev, director of the House of Scientific Atheism in Kashka-Darya Oblast, went on for more than a year, because he was bold enough to criticize openly certain communists for their observing religious rites. A satirical article was published in the oblast newspaper, in which the facts were crudely twisted and distorted, and an active atheist was groundlessly subjected to accusations. But First Secretary N.T. Turapov and officials at the party obkom made it appear as if they hadn't noticed a thing, and it was only after the Central Committee became involved that everything was put right.

And you see, for a long time the officials at the Dzhizak party obkom and the first secretary himself, I.S. Umarov, have persistently evaded liability for making it possible to build mosques by using the means and scarce building materials stolen from the state. Today we remind the party obkom of this once again; but, one would think that this is the last time.

Many of our leaders--party, soviet and komсомol officials, propagandists, and agitators, stubbornly refuse to personally participate in atheist work, and they avoid openly speaking out before the public and criticizing the reactionary essence of the Islamic dogma and morals dictated by the shariat; and in general they quite often avoid using the word "Islam."

The approach of party organs to atheist work must be fundamentally changed. Consistent, purposeful work is needed. Atheist work must be supervised by the first secretaries of party committees and organizations, who must provide a personal example by active participation in eliminating the views and mores in their own families and in their homes, which are alien to the socialist way of life. Increased demands must be placed on all communists for this. Any instance of religious tolerance, compromise, placidity or flirting with religion must be seen as inconsistent with continued party membership.

It is important to properly understand, that we are speaking about the struggle with religion, and not with the believers. Our position is precisely defined in the CPSU Program: while speaking out for the rigorous fulfillment of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the party condemns attempts to utilize religion to the detriment of the interests of society and individuals. We must constantly and rigorously take this as our starting point.

Life goes steadily on, and new things continually enter in and are affirmed in our present-day conditions. Truly revolutionary changes have taken place in our territory in resolving the women's question. Next year we shall mark the 60th anniversary of Khudahum. There is no need to speak of successes with the emancipation of women; they are plain to see. However, against this background the monstrous nature of certain manifestations of feudal, prerevolutionary attitudes toward women stand out all the more plainly.

The secret buying and selling of girls in the form of kalym [bride price], which continues in a number of rayons, is not being properly rebuffed by the party, soviet and social organizations. There are a great many cases of slighting women in the family and in belittling their honor and worthiness, especially in Samarkand, Kashka-Darya, Dzhizak, Bukhara, Navoi, and Syr-Darya Oblasts.

Party, trade union, and Komсомol organizations, soviet and economic officials must decisively and actively oppose feudal, prerevolutionary attitudes toward women. Every such instance must be made an example of special discussion at the bureau of party committees and ispolkom sessions, and they must be given principled analysis. Propaganda on legal rights must be intensified among the female populace, the work of universities on the culture of domestic life must be improved, and the role and significance of women's soviets must be increased; they must become the assistants of the party committees.

New approaches must be worked out in working /with families, in their homes/, aimed at an uncompromising struggle with the old rules of the makhalla and house committees; to certify them, and to strengthen them with communists and Komsomol activists, and representatives of the progressive intelligentsiya.

Our party organizations must seriously work on the problem of broad affirmation of communist morality. As indicated above, unearned income, greed, bribe-taking, materialism, protectionism, family ties and nepotism, servility and other amoral phenomena have become fairly widespread among us.

Not encountering rebuffs on the part of party and soviet organs and the public, certain people are holding--and quite often on the basis of unearned income--noisy, crowded, days-long wedding celebrations until the wee hours of the morning, disturbing the peace of thousands and thousands of people. Participation of children in trade, at times speculative trade, is not declining. And how many tragic breakdowns of young families have occurred simply because they were based on love, but were contrary to the wishes of the parents?

In the struggle with everything contrary to communist morality and the Soviet way of life, party organizations must mobilize that healthy moral potential which is found among an absolute majority of the ordinary workers in our nation.

The ideological apparatus must carry out aggressive work on rooting out from the people's consciousness--and especially the young people--bourgeois individualism and egoism, a consumer attitude toward society, self-love, and greed. Party organizations must work out specific directions for propaganda and affirmation of communist morality, honesty, collectivism, simplicity and modesty, and for attracting people to labor.

In breaking up the stubborn conservative environment which prevails in certain makhallas and in the struggle with negative phenomena, party and labor veterans can do a great deal. Party committees and local Soviets must become deeply concerned with the veterans' soviets now being established, activate their participation in public life, and more fully utilize the rich experience in life of the older generation for education.

Comrades! In promoting activation of the human factor as the primary condition for accelerating socio-economic development, the 27th CPSU Congress required that party committees and organizations raise to a qualitatively new level their ideological work, and restructure themselves. This idea is grounded in an open, direct, and honest everyday relationship of party organizations with the working people; in affirming truth and openness, and a critical approach to the state of affairs in their own work.

As M.S. Gorbachev stated at a meeting with the party aktiv in Krasnodar Kray, "Our people must know everything that goes on in the working collective, in the rayon, in the city, in the oblast, in the republic and in the country; they must influence the resolution of all problems; and they must have a feeling of proprietorship and responsibility for overall matters."

To a large extent this has been supported by monthly political days, and regular meetings of secretaries and Central Committee bureau members with journalists, at which press workers receive exhaustive information on the state of affairs in various spheres of industrial and social life.

At the same time a more decisive turn toward questions of education is required today on the part of the party obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and of the primary party organizations.

In preparing for the present Plenum, the Central Committee studied the state of ideological work in the majority of oblast, city and rayon party committees and in many primary party organizations. The conclusion was the same: many decisions were taken, but improved work is not yet visible. The majority of the resolutions lacked concreteness and applicability, and at best they merely recorded the state of affairs but contained no concrete measures for fundamentally restructuring the work.

The plenum participants are familiar with the resolution of the Central Committee bureau on the Angren party gorkom and the article published in connection with it, "Restructuring Starts with Oneself."

What is the cause of the extremely unfavorable situation which has come to pass in the city party committee and the city? Empty words and ostentation, clerical-bureaucratic methods, a double standard for measures of a demanding nature toward oneself, toward the leaders, and toward ordinary workers; and attempts to tamper with the reconstruction. In this situation, second priority was given to questions of personal modesty, and one can say, to the outrageous punctiliousness of the party cadres in both their official capacity and in family and domestic arrangements. Today, communists and workers no longer put up with such violations. And when such instances are disclosed, as it quite often still happens, and as it was in the case in point, there is an attempt to "lock up" the problem for solution by its own staff. And hence comes the bias, groundless accusations, and violations of party ethics. We believe it is necessary to bring this up once again today, because similar phenomena are also characteristic of a number of other party committees and organizations.

Certain ideological departments of party committees are spending a massive amount of time on working out numerous plans, which then remain at the desks of their creators. Here is a characteristic example: Last December, a question was discussed at the party Central Committee on measures for improving the use of club establishments and sports facilities in Kara-Kalpak ASSR. The appropriate documents were received at the party obkom, gorkom and raykom. But the obkom and its secretary, M.K. Aralbayev, did not establish proper control over implementation of the plans. Reams of papers were shuttled around the cities and villages of the autonomous republic, but as before, the use of the cultural and sports facilities did not exceed 15 percent, and the resolutions adopted on setting up cultural and sports complexes were not carried out. And this is a glaring example of the gap between words and deeds, which has an extremely pernicious effect on the effectiveness of educational work.

The tasks set by the Congress for renewal of social life present new and higher demands on all our cadres. And this applies doubly to the ideological aktiv. After all in educating people, the competence and personal modesty of the propagandist, lecturer or agitator; his profound ideological conviction and practical manifestation of these convictions in concrete actions; the personal example of the activist in both industrial and in social life, are equally important.

Determined work is being carried on in the republic to staff all sectors of this sphere with competent and energetic people. Over a two-year period, the staff of responsible officials at the ideological departments of the Central Committee was renewed by 80 percent; and there was a 66 percent turnover in the this category of workers at the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. The number of persons with party-political education or an academic degree has almost doubled among the secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms who are responsible for questions of ideology. Certification of ideological workers was accomplished, and recently seminars and conferences have been organized for them.

However, one must admit that we also have quite a few serious breakdowns and shortcomings in this matter. In Kashka-Darya Oblast only one of 12 secretaries of party committees on ideology has higher party-political education; and in Navoi Oblast there is not a single one. Of all the responsible officials of departments of propaganda and agitation, in Andizhan Oblast only seven percent have such training, and even in the capital, Tashkent Oblast, only eight percent in all have higher education.

Unjustified feminization of this extremely important sector of party-political activity has taken place. It is extremely rare, literally an isolated instance, when the second or first secretaries supervise ideological questions at party gorkoms and raykoms. Here the Central Committee and the party obkoms have something to think about. After all, as was stressed at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and once again confirmed in recent party documents, it is namely the first secretaries of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms who are primarily responsible for ideological work and for the moral-political situation in their regions.

It is disturbing to learn that party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and even departments of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and Central Committee Secretary R. Kh. Abdullayeva, permit errors and mistakes to occur in selection and assignment of cadres; rapid turnover is observed; and work with the reserve is poorly organized. In the last year-and-a-half alone, 103 ideological workers who were part of the Central Committee and obkom party nomenclatura, were relieved of their duties for negative reasons; moreover, about half of them were nominated after the 16th Central Committee Plenum.

In the process of certifying the responsible officials of certain ideological establishments, it was disclosed by newspaper editorial boards, that not all cadres were suited for the jobs they occupied. For example, at Gos-teleradio, of 412 certified people, 28 were found not to be suited for the given position; and 50 were left on the job on the condition of serious self-study to increase their ideological-political and professional level.

Many ideological institutions are afflicted with politically-immature, professionally-weak cadres and at times with people simply selected at random. It is hard to understand what guidance was used, for example, by the Khodzheylin'skiy party raykom (K. Kh. Zholdasova, secretary), which recommended as director of a school a person who had previously worked as a cashier, trade inspector, and salesperson.

In certain places, as before, nepotism has not declined. Educational and scientific institutions are especially afflicted. At the Fergana Pedagogical Institute, 193 instructors and students are related to one another. At Tashkent University 250 such cases were disclosed. R.N. Nuritdinov, chief of the laboratory at the UzSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Plant Chemistry, assigned his own son and daughter to himself at the laboratory. In 12 years of operation this laboratory has not conducted one single fundamental research project, has not completed a single thesis by economic contract, and was recently shut down. Twelve married couples work at the Scientific-Research Institute of Applied Physics at Tashkent University. At the Navoi branch of the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, patronage of relatives has gone so far, that the son of Deputy Director M. Abdullayev was enrolled as a student even during the period when he was incarcerated in the penal system. Under such conditions, can one speak at all of the ideological and moral education of future specialists; that is, tomorrow's leaders and teachers of the working collectives?

It is especially unacceptable that a number of supervisory officials who had compromised themselves and who were removed for cause, have established themselves in cushy jobs at a number of organizations and institutions in the republic, including ideological ones. Thus, for example, in various subsectors of the Academy of Sciences, working as administrators of institutes, sectors and laboratories are: K. Rzayev, former chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Kara-Kalpak ASSR; V.R. Abakov, deputy chairman of the Kirovskiy rayispolkom; N.R. Khamrayev, chief of Glavsvredaziasovkhozstroy [Main Central Asian Administration for Sovkhoz Construction]; and A. Kakharov, general director of the Uzbekzoloto [Uzbek Gold] Association.

The sphere of leadership, education and ideology must be firmly shut to persons who have compromised themselves. Violation of this requirement quite often leads to serious ideological distortions.

Evidence of obviously poor ideological work is the following abnormality--the Central Committee, upon appeal for lenience and pardon, finds positions for former administrators who have committed major crimes against the state. M. G. Khvan, former chairman of the Politotdel Kolkhoz, involved nearly 100 people in criminal activity; he was responsible for embezzlement of over one million rubles, of which he personally acquired 100,000. And for such an obvious criminal, petitions are submitted to the Tashkent Obkom and Kommunisticheskiy Raykom, signatures are collected, and provisos are given by distinguished people, heroes of labor, and deputies.

Last year alone dozens of unjustified petitions were received at the party Central Committee from Kashka-Darya, Tashkent and Samarkand Oblasts. And this means that the party obkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations,

our ideological resources and cadres, are not carrying out the proper explanatory work and are not creating an atmosphere of public condemnation and intolerance toward criminals. And the administrative organs of the oblasts cited are not devoting the proper attention to promoting the law.

Our society is a society of the highest justice and humanism; and in those cases in which a person has stumbled and has committed a violation of the law, perhaps not of his own free will, the legal organs will take these mitigating circumstances into consideration.

However, we shall continue to wage an uncompromising struggle with those who commit premeditated crimes; we shall steadily strive to cut off all sources of unearned income, and at the same time will not permit twisting and frustrating the rights of the citizens.

At the same time it is fitting to warn the party and soviet aktiv, our ideological cadres, of the unacceptability of even the smallest amount of prejudice toward the relatives of those found guilty, and especially toward their children. They do not bear responsibility for the crimes of their wayward relatives, and we must educate them as honest workers, as true Soviet people, as patriots of their Motherland.

In a word, all of our cadres must learn to properly evaluate the significance of one phenomenon or another, and primarily from an ideological position. They must be able to see both the results and the causes, concretely set practical tasks and propose better means for their solution. The entire essence of ideological and organizational work consists of becoming occupied with specific matters, achieving real results, constantly correlating them with the course of life, and achieving genuine improvement of matters in all sectors.

As Central Committee first secretary I understand that I too must bear principal responsibility for the ideological support of all our plans; and I am obliged to provide the best leadership in this sector, just as the second secretary of the Central Committee, V.P. Anishchev, must improve his own work in implementing cadre policy in the republic. In a word, for all of us in all sectors of ideological-educational work, there is a great deal of painstaking and exceptionally responsible work ahead.

Permit me, Comrades, to express my confidence in the fact that our republic party organization, all communists and the entire ideological aktiv will apply their strength and knowledge, and their organizational talents to raise the creative potential of the workers and every working collective to carry out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

9006
CSO: 1830/164

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

PRAVDA DISCUSSES IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN TAJIK SSR

PM161229 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 86 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondents N. Kozhanov and O. Latifi report under the rubric "Party Life: Effectiveness of Ideological Work": "Get It Off Your Chest"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As noted at the 27th Party Congress, exceptionally favorable social conditions for improving the effectiveness of ideological work are being created in the struggle to speed up the country's socioeconomic development. But this does not mean that ideological, political, labor, and moral education is thereby simplified. Life shows that, in addition to positive trends—expanding openness and strengthening individual work with people—accretions of the past are still making themselves very much felt here: short-term campaigning, formalism, and attempts to evade complex, acute problems and phenomena and create a barricade against them with general appeals, favorable indicators, and substantial "involvement" figures. The difficulties encountered in making restructuring part of the everyday practice of ideological work are the subject of these notes from Tajikistan.

Tajik SSR—On that day, as on many others, incidentally, it was clean, cool, and...deserted in the spacious halls and lobbies of the republic House of Political Education. And this echoing silence, this solemn emptiness even appeared rather mysterious in contrast to the noisy animation outside on the streets of the city, which had reached the end of another working day. And not only on the streets. At this hour, for example, the old mosque next door was also busy. There were many dozens of worshippers in the galleries and on the terraces surrounding the inner courtyard. Green tea was steaming in their cups as they held leisurely conversations about this and that, interrupted at the appointed hour by the Muslim prayers...

All this was food for thought. And it was not only a question of this particular contrast, of course. In itself it does not signify a great deal. Perhaps it was merely a matter of circumstance? Maybe the mosque has its own particular audience and the House of Political Education has its own plan of events. Perhaps it would not be worth drawing special attention to this if it were not for the fact that... If it were not for the fact that we had already spent several days traveling around the republic and having meetings and conversations in party committees, ideological

institutions, enterprises, and villages. And if it were not for the fact that the impressions we had formed from these meetings were so often consonant with those gained in the thought-provoking silence of the House of Political Education.

The first question to arise was this. We are forever complaining of a dearth of contact. So why then do many people frequently avoid clubs and palaces of culture, which are in fact intended to promote contact in leisure hours and provide spiritual and aesthetic education? Why instead are some people here irrepressibly drawn, for example, to "unofficial" social clubs-cum-teahouses which do not appear on any cultural education registers and which residents themselves have usually banded together to build using the traditional local labor [khashar] method? This is quite understandable where cultural centers are in lamentable condition. Indeed, who would willingly leave the comfort of his home and his color television set just to go to some neglected shack? But even cultural centers which are spic and span, so to speak, sometimes have difficulty in attracting an appropriate audience to their events. So where is the break occurring in the threads linking people's need for information and for spiritual and ordinary, everyday contact and the potential for satisfying this need?

You would naturally expect the most competent answers to these questions to come from those actually employed in the ideological sphere. But, strange as it may seem, our conversations with people involved in education very often showed that, as far as they are concerned, there are no issues to be raised in such a pointed manner. That is, there are some shortcomings, of course, but on the whole...

Indeed, who said the clubs are empty? Here are the figures, if you please: "During 1985 clubs organized 156,855 events. They were attended by a total of 15,512,400 people." And if we average these figures--no less than 100 people attended each event. Is that not enough?

What about the infamous teahouses which are becoming a field of activity of self-styled ishans and mullahs?... The reply given by R. Makhmadrakhimova, Ordzhonikidzeabad Gorkom secretary responsible for ideological questions, was full of optimism and once again boiled down to the contention that basically no such problem exists. Yes, she said, there were indeed warnings that in some of these clubs and teahouses self-styled clerics were trying to throw their weight around. But measures have been taken: of 90 of these teahouses, 75 have already been eliminated.

"How have they been eliminated?"

"They have been simply closed down. Some have been re-equipped, some made into storehouses, others have become stores, medical centers, movie clubs..."

The same kind of attitude was also found at the Kurgan-Tyube Obkom. Obkom Secretary M. Rakhimova and others after her tried to present the state of affairs in the most cheerful light.

All right, work is really being done here. At any rate, no one is sitting idle. When you look at the documents of ideological departments in the republic Communist Party Central Committee and party committees at local level, you get the impression of a cumbersome, multilink, multitier, all-pervading system of ideological influence. A system with a vast number of commissions, sections, methodology councils, staffs, and various other social formations fulfilling various functions. You have a tangible impression of an avalanche of paper, growing ever larger as it moves from body to body, eventually crashing down with full force on the grassroots links and, like the foam of a breaking wave, returning in the form of "feedback" of information, communications, and reports...

But once the avalanche has passed and the echo has died away, it quite often transpires that nothing has actually changed. The actual executants--propaganda workers and agitators--remain unaffected by these storms of paper. We have before us the resolutions of the Kurgan-Tyube Obkom Buro concerning ideological education, neatly bound. There are analyses of the work of the Kabodiyenskiy and Pyandzhskiy Raykoms. However, the formulas and recommendations hardly differ from one another: "show greater concern," "improve individual work in practice," "make more active use of potential," "take additional measures for restructuring," and so forth. Decisions are adopted for monitoring. When the stipulated period of time has elapsed, checks are carried out and there follows the depressing conclusion: "local methodology councils are doing nothing," "the measures planned by the raykom are unspecific and lacking in substance..."

Yes, the old, totally neglected disease of formalism and overcautiousness is difficult to cure in ideological work. When the main attention is devoted to paperwork rather than to real people. When any unusual, worrying phenomenon which does not fit the standard pattern is said to be either immaterial or even totally nonexistent. From this kind of standpoint, of course, it is easier to close a teahouse that a wandering mullah has begun to frequent. But there is another way, there is experience which at one time was used everywhere by communists in Tadzhikistan. It was mentioned, incidentally, at a recent meeting of the republic's ideological aktiv. There is the experience, for example, of the red teahouses, which were once real centers of ideological, political, moral, and atheist education.

It is said that times have changed. So they have. But the potential of party and soviet organs and the Komsomol has also become incomparably greater. Both from a technical viewpoint and from the viewpoint of the extent of cadres' information and education. And if there is something that many lack today, it is a taste for individual work with people and direct, frank argument that does not gloss over controversies.

Here one can foresee the objection: What do you mean, a lack of taste, inclination, and ability? What about the integrated political days involving leaders of all ranks that have long been a part of the republic's social life? There is no question that political days have played and

continue to play an important role in the task of informing the population, increasing democracy and openness, and involving the masses in the most topical issues. But what is equally indisputable is the fact that interest in them has noticeably waned in some places. What is the matter? This question is answered to a certain extent on examination of the record sheets that are given to every speaker before he delivers his speech and then returned to the party committee with the appropriate comments and assessments. The overwhelming majority of the record sheets we looked at which had been handed out to speakers by the republic Communist Party Central Committee only recorded the time of the speech and the approximate size of the audience. The section headed "Typical Questions and Suggestions Made by the Working People" had been left blank, as a rule. Does this not mean that the speaker had been in a hurry to finish his assigned task? Besides, a colorless, prepared text would hardly arouse a desire to argue or ask questions. And what useful and instructive information can analysis of these record sheets give to the party committee sending communists out to labor collectives? It probably serves one purpose only--to give an idea of how fruitless any measure is when it is not backed up by serious monitoring and a party attitude to the task in hand.

Nevertheless, in this instance such an analysis would not do any harm. We did actually find some record sheets accurately recording the audience's questions and suggestions and formulating conclusions. In these cases we felt that the speaker was really interested in making contact with his audience, that he really roused people and made them think about their own personal contribution to the common cause and their civic position. But this should be the aim of every speech!

"The lecture went very well. The general hope was that Comrade Bobadzhanov will address our communists on a future occasion." We did not come across this kind of appraisal often (the secretary of the 22d Party Congress Kolkhoz party committee wrote this on the speaker's record sheet after a scheduled political day) and, naturally, we wanted to meet the person who had attracted the audience's special attention.

It must be admitted that we got the right person. The owner of the record sheet was Mirzo Bobadzhanov, director of the republic House of Political Education. He was waiting for us alone, in his office on the second floor of the majestic building which, as we said at the beginning, struck us by its echoing silence and emptiness...

This subject actually opened our conversation. No, it was not always so quiet here, the director explained. There is sometimes no room in the large hall, which can hold up to 1,500 people. But this, of course, happens extremely rarely, and only on particularly formal occasions: congresses, conferences, and meetings of the aktiv. Propaganda workers gather for their seminars in the small hall. In short, everything recorded in the plan is carried out...

But I understand what you mean, our interlocutor smiled at last, laying his papers aside. And, you know, I too would very much like our propaganda centers to be open to anyone at any time. And not simply to be open--they are not closed now, of course--but to be teeming with life, with people coming to us for advice, assistance, and simply because they wanted company, wanted to share their joys and misgivings, discuss painful issues... But for this to happen we must be bolder in getting rid of officialism and bureaucracy.

This is what we are worried about: Religiosity is growing, even some young people are being snared by Islam. Is this not because we provide little sustenance for the heart? We seem to offer sufficient information for the intellect--sometimes even too much. But what we are talking about is the heart, the inner world. In this respect planned seminars and lectures are not enough. Then it is important that people see words followed by action, that they can really feel concern and social justice, and that they can always count on assistance when they need it. This is where our worst enemy--the bureaucrat--steps in. I know more than one case where someone who was once an activist, a frontline soldier decorated with awards, suddenly turns to religion in his old age. Why? Because when he found himself in difficulty, his local council and ispolkom failed to give him the support he needed, whereas he was able to find help at the mosque...

The director of the House of Political Education could not speak of frontline soldiers and war and labor veterans without agitation. And not only because he is head of the city section of the Communist Veteran Council. Until recently he himself trod the difficult path of war. Not without reason, his machine gun is one of the relics in the Central Soviet Army Museum, and in the director's office a portrait of a smiling young man from his own region--Here of the Soviet Union Guards Sergeant Aleksandr Mironenko, who fulfilled his international duty to the end in the fraternal land of Afghanistan--hangs in a prominent place.

[Bobadzhyanov] Two elders came to see me the other day. They were in ceremonial dress, with their medals. Enroll us in the section, they said. Sure, we are not party members but we will help as much as we can. I asked why they wanted to do this. So that someone remembers us, they said. We have no relatives left. The end will come and perhaps there will be a couple of lines about us in the newspaper: Comrades Such-and-such honestly defended the motherland and honestly worked for it...

This is what they said. I thought for a long time afterwards and came to the conclusion that the elders were right. We are all--both our generation and that of Sasha Mironenko--links in the same chain, citizens of one country united by a common goal. And this means that we all--the well known and the not so well known, everyone who has honestly fulfilled his duty and shown concern for his country--are entitled to expect the slogan "No One Is Forgotten" directly to concern every one of us personally. Both during our lifetime and after. But for this really to happen, we political

workers must emerge from our paperwork more often. In this area and in the economy a new kind of thinking is needed. And, let it be frankly said, our country still lacks this.

[Bobadzhanov ends]

It is our opinion that Mirzo Bobadzhanov, veteran on the ideological front, very clearly elucidated the heart of the matter. It is precisely a new kind of thinking and different approaches that are now acutely necessary in the education sphere.

/12858

CSO: 1830/239

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

EAST GERMAN PROFESSOR ATTACKS IDEA OF STEPPE FEUDALISM

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK in Kazakh No 10, October carries on pages 20-21 a 1,200-word interview with East German Professor and archaeologist Burkhardt Brent'yeske, PHD, entitled "Precious Fragments of a Tradition." The interview was recorded by Beybit Sparalin, who questioned Brent'yeske about the role of Shoqan Walikhanov, problems of Kazakh ethnogenesis and ethno-history, cultural monuments and issues of the historical typologies of nomadic societies.

In his response to the latter question, Brent'yeske strongly criticized the prevailing concept of "Steppe Feudalism," which he labeled a deception. According to Brent'yeske, the concept of feudalism as developed by Carl Marx really only applies to sedentary societies and not to nomadic groups, which were a world apart in earlier times. Only in the case of semi-nomadic groups, influenced and controlled by the Chinese and other large sedentary empires, does the concept have use.

/9738

CSO: 1832/407

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

MOSCOW WEEKLY SEES 'COMMOTION' AMONG EMIGRES

PM201400 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 15

[Article by B. Ivanov: "The Turncoats Open the Betting and Lose"]

[Text] Brawling, fuss, uproar, and commotion among the turncoats who hang out abroad, revolving around the anti-Soviet emigre publications. As has happened more than once before, they are splitting into groups and subgroups, drawing up lists and counterlists, and jealously counting up who is for whom and who is against whom... Although basically there is no difference between them—they are all tarred with the same brush.

Why the Commotion?

There are reasons. First of all, the ringleaders of the NTS—the People's Labor Alliance—are terribly offended. These veteran anti-Sovietists are angry with the new collection of turncoats. The new ones have insulted them dreadfully. In order to make the crux of the matter clearer, let us recall that the NTS is a double-dyed anti-Soviet organization with its headquarters in the FRG. At one time the NTS served the Gestapo, later the British intelligence service, and now, for many years, the CIA.

Naturally, in front of the Western public the NTS people strive officially to appear not as terrorists and spies, not as parasites living off the CIA, but as some kind of "political force," practically an "alternative for Russia." The NTS makes great efforts to look as decent as possible, and tries to give itself a respectable, "conservative" image.

"Your brother turncoat" is not supposed to break the tacit agreement not to undermine each other in the eyes of the Western public, least of all the bosses, that is, the CIA. But here we have a flagrant violation. A group of turncoats, including people like Maksimov and Bukovskiy, publicly criticized the NTS in the pages of the Paris newspaper RUSSIAN THOUGHT. You could say they gave the NTS people a proper dressing down, and under an offensive headline, too—"The Grays Open the Betting and Win."

Of course, they use the word "grays" not in the political sense (in that case it would be more apposite to use the adjective "brown"), but in the sense of "mediocre," as an intellectual assessment of the NTS ringleaders. But no

doubt it is time to say why one-half of the turncoat fraternity is castigating the other half. The point is that the NTS people dismissed Vladimov from the post of chief editor of GRANI, the anti-Soviet journal they publish. The Paris newspaper stood up for him, going so far as to claim that under Vladimov the journal reached a "wide readership" in Russia and throughout the world. Well, in polemics of this kind, exaggerations are inevitable, so we will not pay any particular attention to them. It is the incident itself that is the most important thing.

Of course, the NTS people were worried--every time there is a public quarrel among us here, abroad, they said, the Soviet press could take advantage of it... But--alas--if financial interests are affected (and we will see that this is the case), no appeals to keep to a whisper so that "Moscow does not hear" will help.

And indeed, the group abuse of the NTS is not as disparaging, if you look into the matter, as the abuse that came from the lips of Vladimov, the direct culprit in the row. He got even with his former bosses in the pages of the Paris anti-Soviet journal KONTINENT. In fact, he said nothing new, and the NTS had no need to fear that Moscow would obtain any more or less secret information. The Soviet press has already written about what has now been made public by the dismissed editor of GRANI, and his words only confirmed what was already known.

Vladimov wrote in black and white that it has nothing to do with "people's," "labor," or "alliance." There is just a family clan of Artemovs, Redlikhs, Slavinskiys, Bonafedes, and Goracheks, all feeding from the anti-Soviet trough. They hold a key place in the NTS, which means that they appropriate the juiciest morsels from the American table. All the others in the NTS are, to quote Vladimov verbatim, "second-rate farm laborers." While criticizing individual representatives of the ruling clan, the dismissed editor gave a highly unflattering portrait of Romanov "himself"--the aged ringleader of the NTS who "held everyone in his power with the check book."

But that was not what upset the NTS. Abuse like that is like water off a duck's back to them, they don't give a damn... But that Vladimov criticized the very fact of their existence and their feeding out of the CIA's hands, that scared them out of their wits. (Incidentally, in their reply the NTS people complained in veiled terms that the Americans do not feed them generously: In the West unskilled laborers receive more than the NTS people, who supposedly include candidates and even doctors of sciences.)

Scoffing at the NTS braggarts, Vladimov said outright that their plans will not succeed, and mocked their idle talk to the effect that the NTS has covered the whole of Russia with a network of "molecular cells" and that there are in the "secret membership" workers and kolkhoz members who join the NTS by "self-enrollment." That there is in the USSR a certain city where virtually the entire population belongs to the NTS ("for security," the name of this mythical city is kept in deep secrecy by the NTS ring-leaders). In general, Vladimov sums up, the NTS people are "pulling the wool" over someone's eyes, though, true, he does not say openly whom he has in mind...

A "Nice" Name and Not Very Nice Deeds

Volosevich is his father's name, Zeyfman his mother's, but neither name pleased the son, and on starting a literary career he called himself Vladimov. Well, you can call yourself what you like... But he did not become particularly famous under the name of Vladimov. He wrote two books which are, so to speak, no worse than any others--"Big Ore" [Bolshaya Ruda] and "Three Minutes' Silence" [Tri Minuty Molchaniya]. He worked on the journal NOVYY MIR. He was admitted to the USSR Writers' Union. A quite successful, good beginning. Now was the time to roll up his sleeves and work hard. But that path did not suit Vladimov. Let us not try to guess his motives. Let us take a closer look at his actions.

And Vladimov's actions quite soon went beyond the permissible bounds not only for a Soviet writer's behavior, but even, more widely, simply for a decent person. The author of "Big Ore" started writing anti-Soviet libels.

When this process began, writers of his acquaintance tried to make him see reason. Vladimov would not listen. In particular, he shrugged aside the warnings about the NTS, with which he had come into contact. But Vladimov knew whom he was striking up a friendship with. Vladimov knew the savage face of the NTS people who came together with the fascists to conduct executions and pogroms and make our people into slaves. Vladimov's own father, Nikola Stepanovich Volosevich, was sent from Kharkov to Germany and disappeared without trace. Alas, that did not trouble Vladimov. Evidently the rust had already begun to corrode his soul. Such concepts as the motherland, patriotism, conscience, decency, and even elementary fastidiousness had ceased to exist for him.

His friends and colleagues soon became convinced, to their sorrow, that Vladimov was not motivated by delusions, that it was not a question of a "change of views" (philosophical, literary, or political), but of the elementary bourgeois lust to "have" more and quicker. He rejected the friends and colleagues who tried sincerely to help him.

But there was nothing to publish or republish. Naturally, nobody had any intention of defending his new writings, which were anti-Soviet in spirit. Even the author himself could not, of course, seriously expect them to be published in the USSR. Evidently even then, in the early seventies, he was planning to break with the motherland and was "earning currency" abroad--earning it from here, from the USSR.

In 1975, through his NTS contacts, he conveyed his first anti-Soviet opus to the West, and the same year it was published in the journal GRANI. It was a novella. It was followed by a play and a short story. But it should not be thought that the matter was confined to belles lettres, of whatever hue. The old truth that once someone has said "a" he will say "b" is fully confirmed by Vladimov's example.

Artemova, the wife of one of the NTS ringleaders, was in contact with the newly converted turncoat. Go-betweens recruited from among foreign tourists

brought Vladimir slanderous anti-Soviet leadlets, and the "master of sophisticated literature" disseminated them in accordance with NTS instructions. The couriers did not leave emptyhanded, either. They took away...no, not stories and novels. There was no time now to write novels. Vladimir scribbled reports requested by the NTS ("reviews of the situation in the USSR"); nor did he shrink from, to use his own language, "informing"—he compiled character files and built up dossiers on persons of interest to the NTS, both among Soviet citizens and among those who had left the USSR.

Outside Leg Measurement—100 Cm

But that is not all. Vladimir read the newspapers carefully and cynically calculated that it was possible to "feed" to the West blatant fabrications which it would be impossible to check. And he declared himself to be "chairman of the Russian section" of the well known anti-Soviet, anti-socialist organization Amnesty International. From publications in the Soviet press Vladimir knew well that Amnesty, under cover of supposed concern for "prisoners of conscience," spreads anti-Soviet fabrications throughout the world. The USSR only has to bring to trial an unmasked accomplice of Hitler's, and Amnesty starts "appealing for mercy." If some currency speculator is being tried, Amnesty declares that in fact he is being tried for his intention of going to Israel or for belonging to some religious sect. If none of these applies, Amnesty calmly thinks up a "case" citing "sources" known to it alone and "on-the-spot reports" obtained from heaven knows where.

So Vladimir took advantage of these circumstances. Well aware that authenticity has no significance in this game, as long as you make a "report" of some kind, he started "reporting" to the best of his ability—sending to the West slanderous information which was then disseminated all over the world, blackening the USSR right and left.

Vladimir also turned up in the self-styled, so-called "Moscow Helsinki group," that is, among a handful of rogues who made it their business to "monitor the observance of human rights in the USSR," which took the form, in practice, of fabricating anti-Soviet falsehoods and dispatching them abroad. In a word, Vladimir operated according to the "principle" of "what can I do for you?" "all money is good money."

All this "frenzied activity" very soon came into contradiction with the regulations of the USSR Writers' Union, and he was expelled. Did Vladimir regret this? Hardly. He had other worries during that period. As already stated, the experienced NTS member Artemova maintained contact with him. She constantly informed her agent how many pieces of silver had been transferred to his account in a foreign bank. She offered to order whatever was needed within the limits of stipulated sums. Here are some quotations from letters confiscated from Vladimir during a search. They express these wishes:

"What would I like? My wife and I have everything we need for everyday wear, but there is the problem of clothes for going out, 'best' clothes. She would like a coat--leather or suede, really fashionable and expensive, and a jeans

suit (and one for me, too). Our tastes--sporty for me, 'theatrical,' even rather loud, for her."

From another letter:

"We measured up according to your questionnaire, and this is the result: Natasha is average height, 150 cm; from the waist to below the knee--50, from shoulder to waist in front--50, from shoulder to waist in back--39, bust size (circumference)--96, waist, without straining (circumference)--84, hips (circumference)--102, sleeve length (elbow bent)--55, shoulder width--46. Color, probably blue, or whatever is now in fashion. My own figure is apparently more in accordance with the general European standards--judging by the fact that Western clothes always fit well, and the main measurements are: height--176, shoulder width--52, chest--102, waist--89, sleeve (elbow bent)--66, hips (circumference)--97, outside leg--110. Same color as hers."

These quotations are rather long and boring, but I think they will give some impression of the nature of the relationship between a "dissident intellectual" and the West. True, the thrilling details of whimsical foreign fashions were far more interesting to the "writer" than to his contractors. They had thought up what they saw as a brilliant plan for using their Moscow find. It must be admitted that the recruitment of Vladimov was an unheard-of piece of luck for the NTS.

And how--they had acquired not some illiterate impostor passing himself off as a literary man, but a real literary man, a professional, even a member of the Writers' Union, and that they had expelled him made it even better: He was a "martyr."

So they thought up a job for the martyr in the fashionable leather coat: The NTS would send him the GRANI manuscripts in Moscow, he would correct them and send them back, and as a result it would be possible to put the word "Moscow" on the title page. That was the intention of the NTS people, who hoped to "sell" the Americans a top quality forgery: You could get really big money for that... But the "literary" ploy did not come off. Vladimov had to embark on his editorship of GRANI over there, in the West. That was in 1983.

He went abroad in triumph. The editor's chair (with, of course, an editor's salary) seemed to be a kind of dowry for his marriage with Western "freedom."

Value Here and Value There

He considered himself an experienced man, but alas, he had yet to get his own fingers burnt. Vladimov could not imagine what it was really like, that freedom for the sake of which he had left the motherland and crossed the borders of elementary decency. They told him--he did not believe them. So he did not realize, until he arrived "over there," that his value had fallen almost as soon as he slammed the door of his father's house behind him.

Is that not strange, for a wily character able to cunningly conceal his own true face? It would be strange, were it not for one feature which is clearly

expressed both in Vladimov and in many similar turncoats. This feature is a pathologically developed self-importance and hypertrophied ambition. To be fair, foreign possessions and parties in restaurants did not in themselves mean much to Vladimov. He longed for fame, glory, preferably worldwide, he hungered for authority, importance, a respectable "persona"... Mr Editor... No--Mr Chief Editor... Oh, what a sweet sound!

Most likely, he sincerely believed that only one person was possible for the post of editor of GRANI--he himself, Georgiy Vladimov. That was the song Artemova flatteringly sang to him when he lived in the USSR. But it was necessary to guard against all possible contingencies. Naturally, there was no danger of competition from among Soviet writers, but there could be a competitor among the turncoats installed in the West.

Mentally surveying the circle of turncoats revolving around Western anti-Soviet publications, Vladimov began to suspect of possible designs on "his" post Maksimov, who already had experience of editing the anti-Soviet journal KONTINENT. Vladimov and Maksimov are officially friends, but here is what Vladimov wrote in a letter to Artemova (I quote):

"...Now--who is Maksimov. This is what I managed to find out: He is Lev Alekseyevich Samsonov, born not in 1932, but in 1928, sentenced in Sokolniki Court in Moscow for murder; he fled from his place of detention with a change of passport. This change was known to a relatively large number of people, but nonetheless, when he filled in the exit documents at the Visas and Registration Department, in the section on changes of surname he wrote 'none.'" (Pay attention to that sentence--it is highly significant: It contains a hint that Maksimov might be an "agent of Moscow." Vladimov personally knows how to "frighten" people in the West: In his present skirmish with the NTS he hinted very transparently that they leave their couriers from the West to the mercy of Soviet counterintelligence, and not for nothing, he says, do "they say" that the NTS is full of "Soviet agents.")

In other words, it means: Maksimov is a suspicious type, and not suitable to be chief editor of GRANI. Vladimov hoped, not without reason, that his character reference on his "dear friend Volodya" would work, and he eliminated Maksimov as a possible rival. Vladimov saw no other rivals. He did not take into consideration the NTS "literary men" and "journalists," rightly regarding them as illiterate or at best semiliterate.

A curious feature. Those turncoats who are now coming out in Vladimov's defense against the NTS cite his, Vladimov's, professionalism as an argument. He, they say, is an editor of the "good NOVYY MIR school." As you can see, they cannot help admitting the truism that the Soviet press is run by professionals. Unlike the subversive emigre pamphlets. But let us get back to Vladimov's seal on GRANI.

The NTS had no intention of entrusting this publication to his full and unsupervised discretion. When Vladimov crossed the border, the fawning and cajolery stopped. There was now no need to stand on ceremony with him. It should be said that the NTS allowed the new boy to play around for a while,

counting on his quick-wittedness, and gave him time to learn "who's who" in the NTS and study and accept the rules of the game.

Now Vladimov curses the NTS as a Romanov-Artemov-Zhdanov "family firm," now he is indignant about the clan system which, in his words, hampers "business." Rubbish! He was well aware of everything, but hoped to join the clan of NTS ringleaders, and perhaps even dominate them. After all, he thought, he is not some kind of avenger from the distant past, only a writer from yesterday.

Here he made a big mistake.

What About the Print Run?

The NTS was prepared to use Vladimov on terms of total obedience. Artemova was assigned to him--the same Artemova with whom, while living in Moscow, he had exchanged correspondence about jeans suits and other "literary" matters. But now madame had changed from a passionate admirer into a strict supervisor.

In letters from the USSR to the FRG Vladimov was ingratiating to Artemova--oh, how I complicate things for you, how much trouble I give you, I'm really embarrassed... Now it is different. This is how he characterizes his supervisor, in KONTINENT: "In the very first days she (Artemova) informed me that 'the impious Lev Tolstoy is now scrubbing pans in hell for all his deeds.'" Apparently Vladimov had seen through her...

But Artemova was not the only problem. Vladimov was also subordinate to Zhdanov--director of the Posev publishing house, which publishes GRANI, among other pulp literature. He criticized this character publicly, too--saying that he could not write two sentences properly in Russian. This was tiresome to Vladimov, who was convinced that the uncouth NTS people would not dare to contradict him. But they did dare. They had hired Vladimov, and he should follow their instructions in everything. As for professionalism, which Vladimov regarded as his hobbyhorse, that was simply not needed here. There is no market for NTS writings, no matter which editors turn their hand to them.

In the real press, an important indicator is the print run of a publication and its main component--the number of subscribers. This was the indicator which the NTS people thrust under the nose of the "great professional" when they showed him the door: During his editorship, they said, the print run had fallen 10 percent. What could Vladimov say in his justification? Nothing. He realized they had made a fool of him. He could not fail to know that the concept of the print run, with NTS publications, is a fiction. Nearly all the printed copies end up gathering dust on the shelves, regardless. You can print 10 percent more or 20 percent fewer--it makes no difference. Nor could Mr Chief Editor know how many had actually been printed: All the figures in the Posev publishing house are controlled by Mr Director, Zhdanov, and he kept Vladimov at a distance and did not allow him access to the "firm's secrets." And what secrets could there be, Vladimov now complains, if the typesetters did not accept a single page without the director's initial "Z" (for Zhdanov) in the corner!

The interloper Vladimov found himself weak against the NTS solidarity. You made your bed, now lie on it! And Vladimov's present lamentations arouse no sympathy. Moreover the NTS people believed, not without reason, that the former director is cheating, so they did not remain silent in response to his accusations.

Not without sarcasm, they reminded Vladimov who had fed him from the West for 13 years, and whose hand he was not biting... And so forth. Of course, the NTS "did not consider it necessary" to reply to Vladimov's spiteful disclosures about the NTS pamphlets and leaflets which nobody reads in the Soviet Union. They did not reply, because they had no reply. Nor did they "take notice" of the concluding passage of Vladimov's statement, where he says that the NTS will soon have to recognize the "tragedy" which is advancing upon it (true, it would be more apposite to use the word "fiasco"). That has long been known and understood.

But here is something not without interest, which caused great animation in the turncoat camp: The NTS reproached Vladimov for seeing GRANI only as a temporary "landing ground" for turncoats leaving for the West. They are offended and alarmed, of course, that as soon as the opportunity arises, even those individuals who appear most unscrupulous seek to get away from them: That is how bad the NTS' reputation is in the eyes of the Western public. Only the most unprincipled rogues and those who are hard up agree to cooperate with them. Therefore Vladimov's unsuccessful attempt to remove the NTS mark of Cain from GRANI, as he himself said, caused extreme agitation among the small but extremely vociferous company of turncoats who exist by publishing items in anti-Soviet emigre publications.

Whether We Write or Not, We Have the CIA in Mind

Vladimov's expulsion from the journal caused a real storm in a teacup. One group, including Maksimov and Bukovskiy, published a protest; another group refused to sign the protest. Of course, both wrote in Aesopian language, and when spoken aloud it does not, to put it mildly, correspond to the truth. None of them gives a damn about Vladimov--and the same goes for Maksimov, the target of Vladimov's mudslinging. It is not a question of the "rights" of an editor or the "tyranny" of a publisher, but of...access to the feeding trough.

Incidentally, about Maksimov. It was not for nothing that Vladimov scented a rival in him. Maksimov's sister, (Breytbart), has now become chief editor of GRANI. True, the brother has reproved her in public, but people in the know say that this was a well rehearsed performance. Now the stake held by the Maksimov family clan in the world of anti-Soviet emigre publications has increased markedly. They cannot lose in this game; the bets are placed on rival horses, and no matter who outgallops whom, the Maksimovs will not be the losers.

Let us note also that both sides pretend that only a "writers' and publishers'" conflict is in progress. The well disciplined NTS people did not reproach Vladimov for the fact that he was an ordinary agent of theirs and,

while still living in Moscow, had links not only with Artemova, but with one Arseniy Vladimirovich. That individual was interested not in plays and stories, but in analytical reports on the attitudes of various people to "disturbing foreign policy topics" (Iran, the Near East, and especially China). And domestic topics (biographies and evaluations of "currents"). Vladimov willingly responded to all the points in Arseniy Vladimirovich's questionnaires, apologizing for not being entirely successful, so to speak, in affairs of this kind. The NTS did not utter a word about these contacts when accusing Vladimov of ingratitude. Naturally, nor did Vladimov.

And it goes without saying that nobody uttered the word "CIA," nobody troubled the true master of GRANI, Posev, and even KONTINENT. Yet both Vladimov's letter and the turncoats' letter in his defense are addressed specifically to the Americans. Their purport was this: That's enough, now get rid of the illiterate NTS people whom you needed formerly. We are here now--we will do what you order, and much better. Hire us, pay us!

Vladimov is no friend or brother to the other turncoats, but his case is important to them as a precedent. This is what worries them. They have been hanging about in the West for some years now, and the Posev editorial funds are still controlled by Vlasovites and SS men together with their sons and sons-in-law. But the new turncoats also want to eat, and hope that the CIA will value their education and "purity." We, they say, unlike the NTS ringleaders, did not serve in the Sonderkommandos, we did not take part in punitive actions...

In other words, the logic of this group's reasoning is clear. But why did others, no less cunning and unprincipled, refrain from signing the protest against Vladimov's dismissal? Did they perhaps count it their good fortune not to be associated with such a vile organization as the NTS? More likely, they reasoned thus: In the end the Americans will decide things regardless, so why stick your neck out? They could not foresee the CIA's actions. Either they will close down the NTS entirely (a rumor to that effect is current). Or they will order it to change its line and replace personnel: For instance, appoint Bukovskiy or someone else instead of Zhdanov. Or they could allow the NTS to remain in the form of a purely espionage and terrorist organization, take away its publishing affairs, and put Posev under some other foundation formed by the CIA, which they would call what they liked.

Another aspect. Vladimov pointed out (addressing the Americans, of course) that a natural change of generations is taking place in the NTS. The old ones, with their Gestapo past, are dying out, while the young ones who are coming into power and into control of the money, like Zhdanov himself, may not be stained by blood, but they do not know the Soviet Union, either. They have never been there, they can hardly write Russian, it is all the same to them--Vladimov caustically observes--what country they concern themselves with. The conclusion suggests itself: Why do you Americans need them? But the young NTS people who signed the rebuke against Vladimov, addressing the same "guys from Langley," gave assurances that they will continue the line of the older generation (that is, they will be obedient and disciplined), while Vladimov takes more than he is entitled to and only wanted to publish

his own friends, without asking permission from the higher (American) authorities...

So that was the fuss, uproar, and commotion which broke out. Each of the warring factions probably thinks it outplayed the other and made a fool of it. The offended Vladimov wrote that the NTS is a "losing card." Well, that's true enough, though not new. But it is equally true that Vladimov himself and many of the turncoats are losing cards. The CIA holds them all in one deck.

Perhaps now, in connection with the outcry of the new turncoats against the NTS, the people in Langley will shuffle the deck a bit. Some will come out higher, others lower. But on the whole the new deal will change nothing. There is no difference, basically, between these cards--they are all losers. Sooner or later the American dealer will realize that. If you look at it from another angle, it is clear: By gambling on the "NTS-CIA" card, the turncoats lose. Inevitably.

/6091

CSO: 1800/279

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

KaSSR: LOCAL PAPERS TAKEN TO TASK OVER LACK OF IMPACT

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 12 December carries on page 1 an 800-word boldface editorial entitled "Press and Publicity." The article takes local papers in the KaSSR severely to task for failure to publish the kinds of materials likely to mobilize the public to achieve current goals. It also castigates them for insipid and ineffective criticism and calls upon editors and staff to take their role of criticism, exposing corruption and discovering deficiencies more seriously. Some editors are criticized for misusing their authority by obstructing the press's effectiveness and failing to ensure that local newspapers fulfill their assigned role.

Newspapers criticized by name in the editorial are KOMMUNIZM NURY (Kegenskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast), KOMMUNIZM TANGY (Karkaralinskiy Rayon, Karaganda Oblast), LENIN OSIYETI (Leninskiy Rayon, Chimkent Oblast) and ALGHA (Ayaguzskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk). The editorial also has particular ire for A. Imazhanov, editor of SHAMSHURAQ NURY and SVET MAYAKA (Kurgal'dzhinskiy Rayon, Tselinograd Oblast) and V. Ykovenko, party secretary of the same rayon. The latter was relieved of his position for not supervising local papers under his control better.

/9738

CSO: 1832/408

RELIGION

UNREGISTERED BAPTISTS' ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES EXAMINED

Moscow SOVetskaya Rossiya in Russian 2 Nov 86 p 6

[Article by SOVetskaya Rossiya correspondent V. Razboynikov, from the Kursk and Belgorod oblasts, under the rubric "Judicial Satire": "In the Name of Love for Suckling Pigs"]

[Excerpts] Shatunov did not wind up in the prisoner's dock merely because of his predilection for idealistic philosophizing. This preacher broke the law regarding the separation of the church from the state and the school and slandered our social order. And he also distributed illegal literature in which it called for the violation of the laws regarding cults. Shatunov managed not only to set about preaching quite near the (Voroshnevskiy) village Soviet, where people and children from the neighborhood gathered, but also to establish his own "school." Teaching was done using a method developed by him and using homemade textbooks. They resembled notebooks, but with illustrations. Near the letter "A," for example, there is a depiction of a man with an effeminate face. You are supposed to understand that this is an angel. At the letter "Kh"--Khristos [Christ], but for some reason with eyeglasses. The students surrounding the Most High strikingly remind one of chronic poor students and they look as if they have just been flogged.

For those not persistent in the faith a similar lecture has been prepared, "I Have Seen Hell" (The vision of Ya. M. Peysta). Here is what they use to frighten those not firm in the faith: "The angel led me by the hand through numerous vaults and caves... Piles of gold, silver and precious stones lay there, enticing one to boundless greed. However, as soon as the players touched the money, it burned them..." But the money collected by Shatunov's coreligionists to buy a vehicle in which they delivered the illegal literature did not burn the preacher. Indeed, in general, they did not shun many worldly things: and they distilled homebrew and stole suckling pigs. Yet, at the same time, they claimed to be the embodiment of morality and piety.

Also in Shatunov's library were "textbooks" on geography and botany. A lot of the things in these notebooks were nonsense and they all were primitive and wretched. Take, for example, arithmetic. Likewise "bound" to Holy Writ. There are such simple problems as: "Judas sold Christ for 30 pieces of silver and Joseph's brothers sold him for 20 pieces of silver. How many more pieces of silver did Judas receive for Christ?"...

It is even quite possible, in making up similar "problems," to use examples from the earthly affairs of the Christians-Baptists. For example, Shatunov's coreligionist A. Spesivtsev stole five bottles of vodka from a store. Question: how much money would he net selling them on the black market? In the home of Baptist A. Burovaya, who zealously distributed the illegal literature, a search turned up homebrew equipment. And the question is: how much potion could be obtained in the course of a work day with a productive output from the set of 0.7 liters per hour?... And how much money could the same Spesivtsev net, having stolen 2 kolkhoz suckling pigs, each weighing 20 kilograms?

These are the kinds of lessons the adult preachers have taught the young students by their own actions. Nevertheless, they have not lost hope of putting even mature people on the "true" path. The coworkers of the (Starooskol) city police department were taken aback when they went to the home of Christian-Baptist V. Tsygankov. What, indeed, did they see? His son Vladimir, in the words of the father, a malicious hooligan and rowdy, was crucified. Literally. His arms and legs had been tied with a rope to the bedframe and on his face there were scratches and bruises visible. The father insisted that his crucified son be taken to the police station and punished. But it was the father who had to be punished. He was leading an unregistered sect of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists.

The Christians-Baptists quite frequently depict themselves as the bearers of pure morals and model behavior. But let us remember the homebrew equipment and the theft of the suckling pigs and the like. They promote the motto--pray for your neighbor as for yourself. Tsygankov Sr. also pushed this motto, however, for disobedience he moved his son into a liberated pigsty. He had hoped that his son would change his mind and would come to the bosom of God. But Vladimir reoutfitted his unusual dwelling, put things in order there and began to live and get by.

The father, meanwhile, drove his son from his homestead, after having offered him 3,000 rubles (in pay-off money) collected from the church members. But Vladimir firmly declined and did not accept the sop. The matter went to court. The mother made up a letter in which she depicted her own son as a fiend from hell. She went around to the neighbors and collected signatures: this, she said, will help her son. And everyone put their signatures down, without even reading the letter: they trusted a false lamentation...

Naturally, both Shatunov and Tsygankov received their just dues in accordance with the corresponding articles of the Criminal Code. And no kind of metaphysics could help "Christ's Brotherhood," which attempted to unite in one faith "love for one's neighbor" and for a kolkhoz's suckling pigs.

12752

CSO: 1800/128

RELIGION

BSSR: STATISTICS ON RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS IN RURAL AREAS

Minsk SELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Oct 86 p 3

[Article under the rubric "On Atheistic Themes" by V. Laptенок, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate of the sector for rural sociological problems of the BSSR Academy of Sciences' Philosophy and Law Institute: "Do Not Forgo Your Convictions"]

[Excerpts] Last year the BSSR Academy of Sciences' Philosophy and Law Institute conducted specific sociological research selectively in 31 kolkhozes and 26 sovkhoses in 19 rayons of all the oblasts of the republic. Frank responses were made on our survey forms by 516 people--machine operators, stock breeders, field cultivators and agricultural specialists. Among those questioned, in the opinion of the managers of the collectives, atheists make up 67.5 percent of the total, observers of certain religious holidays and rituals--29.6 percent and believing members of a sect--0.6 percent.

One of the Orthodox priests, in characterizing the "impoverishment of the faith," wrote: "Now the believers are such that they fear neither God nor the icons, nor sin." The process of the "aging" of the believers is continuing. The support of religion inexorably narrows down to an insignificant number of representatives from that generation to which fell the bitter lot of living and being educated during the period of the complete supremacy of religious ideology and which has decided to live out the remainder of their lives resolutely not parting with it. Thus, in the Russian Orthodox Church persons over 60 years of age make up 80-90 percent of the membership of religious associations. In 8 congregations of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (ECB) in the Soligorskiy Rayon which were examined there were 837 believers, 447 of them pensioners. According to a status report of 1 January, 1986, there were registered in the congregations, according to age: up to 30 years old--185 people, from 30 to 40 years old--70 people, from 40 to 50 years old--113 people, from 50 to 60 years old--126 people, and older than 60--343 people. These data confirm the presence in Belorussia's rural areas of a tendency towards the aging of religious organizations.

On the other hand, one can not but view with special alarm the circumstance, which clearly stands out as a reverse phenomenon, namely, the not unsuccessful activities of sect leaders in rejuvenating their own congregations. In that very same Soligorskiy Rayon young people make up more than a fifth of the ECB

communities. In the (Gotskaya) congregation the believers up to 30 years of age amount to 44.7 percent and in the (Veynovskaya) congregation--50.6 percent. This, naturally, should entail a look at the specific forms of atheistic work with the indicated categories of the rural populace. Exceptional attention needs to be paid at the same time to the atheistic education of the young.

The most important demographic feature of the make-up of the religious organizations is the predominance of women in them. In the USSR women make up on the average 85-90 percent of those attending divine services in the Russian Orthodox Church. In the BSSR this figure likewise amounts to 70 percent and more. Of the 837 people in the ECB sect in the Soligorskiy Rayon, 602 of the believers are women and 235 are men. Of the 3,165 ECB members registered in the 32 congregations of Minsk Oblast, 2,405 are women and 760 are men. The results of sociological research conducted in 1982-1983 in the Brest and Grodno oblasts indicated that in Catholic associations women make up 68.4 percent of the total. A woman over the age of 50 is the predominant figure in the religious organizations, no matter whether they are Orthodox, Catholic or sectarian.

The greater degree of devotion in women towards religion can be explained, in our view, by a whole set of reasons. Among them are ones such as the weaker social ties of the women in comparison to men with public affairs, their relatively lower level of education and their lack of the necessary time for comprehensive cultural development in connection with the excessive limitedness of their concerns in managing their personal households, their increased susceptibility and impressionability to all kinds of collisions in everyday life, their subtle emotional sensitivity and responsiveness to the dramatization and attractiveness of the ritual side of religion and other items. Undoubtedly, however, success in overcoming religiousness in the rural areas depends, first and foremost, on atheistically educating the women who occupy a predominating position not only by their representation in religious organizations, but at home, in the family and in the educating of children.

Church figures and sect leaders are spreading their version apparently among believers, many of whom are educated, intelligent people. Meanwhile, as the research data indicate, the general educational level of the queried believers is quite low. On the average, at the sites examined in Belorussia, believers who are uneducated, poorly educated or have up to a 6th-grade education, make up nearly 90 percent of the total, those with a 7th-grade or some secondary education make up 8 percent and those with secondary or higher educations make up up to 2 percent. The latter are mainly representatives of the clergy who have received higher clerical education.

The picture is also similar in the ECB congregations where uneducated people and those with up to a 4th-grade education make up 76.4 percent of the total, those with a 5th- through 7th-grade education make up 11.6 percent, those with an 8th- and 9th-grade education make up 4.8 percent, and those with secondary or higher education make up 7.2 percent. In the (Veynovskaya), (Gotskaya), (Dubinskaya), (Lesovenskaya), (Povarnitskaya), (Rozhanskaya), (Skovshinskaya) and Starobin congregations of the ECB in the Soligorskiy Rayon, uneducated people and poorly educated people amount to 262 believers, those with a 3d- and 4th-grade education--215, those with a 5th- through 8th-grade education--176,

those with a 9th- and 10th-grade education--183, those with specialized secondary education--6, and those with a higher education--2. Thus, of 837 ECB members, 56.9 percent are uneducated or have only an elementary education.

Consequently, the degree of religiousness is inversely proportional in relation to the educational level: the lower this level, the more believers there are. It follows from this that in scientific atheistic work broad dissemination should be given to those of its forms and methods as would be accessible and understandable for poorly educated people. And the formation of a scientific outlook would match up with the increase in their educational and cultural levels.

No less serious here is yet another fact. The growth in the number of believers is proceeding basically owing to young people with a 9th- and 10th-grade education. Whereas in 1980 they made up 11.8 percent of the believers, in 1986 they are 21.9 percent. Over this very same period the number of young people up to 30 years of age among the sect members of the Soligorskiy Rayon increased by 8.6 percent.

Among a certain segment of the schoolchildren the ability to argumentatively and logically defend their own scientific and materialistic viewpoints has not been adequately developed, which makes it possible for the zealous followers of religion to snare them in their own nets. This applies particularly to those students whose parents are confirmed believers. Such families often serve as the main source for the reproduction of religiousness among rural young people. Thus, of 29 people accepted in 1985 into the ECB congregations of the Soligorskiy Rayon, 21 sect members were from families of believers.

The separation of the school from the church means it is intolerable for the church to meddle in the matter of the education of the young people and prohibits the forced joining of children to religion. Any kinds of attempts to forcibly impose religious outlooks on children and teenagers, on young boys and girls, should not only be stopped resolutely by the state organs responsible for this, but should also be met with general condemnation by the public. Notable for their particular tenacity and persistence are those religious ideas and rituals which have permeated the everyday life of the rural populace, which have been closely intertwined with traditional customs and which to this day are perceived as an integral part of them.

Today the everyday life of the rural populace is becoming enriched more and more by new forms and customs and by Soviet public traditions.

12752

CSO: 1800/128

RELIGION

MORE AGGRESSIVE ATHEIST PROPAGANDA AMONG BAPTISTS URGED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 29 Aug 86)
pp 18-21

[Article by NAUKA I RELIGIYA special correspondent L. Talymov under the rubric "Practice: Experience and Problems": "In Krasnaya Rechka"]

[Excerpts] The village of Krasnaya Rechka is stretched out in rows of houses along the highway. Basically these are the adobe structures that are typical for these areas and the age of which shows clearly even through regular white-washing. But there are, especially on the outskirts, new houses as well, and ones still being built--from brick and cinder block.

I recognized the prayer house of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists [ECB], even though it did not have the customary announcement board on it, by both the quality of the structure and the wide open gates, as well as by the cars, both inside and outside the spacious yard. Here also, not far from the entrance, were baby carriages.

I had barely managed to give the yard a quick once-over when the door swung open and a man about 45 years old invited me into the house.

I have to give it its just due: the room had been set up tastefully.

The man who had greeted me suggested, as if it were routine, that I go up to the front, to the platform. Whether this is done out of respect for the guest, so that he could see and hear everything happening better, or whether it is done so that he could not have the opportunity of observing those present, I could not say.

I politely declined and took a place on the rear bench, inasmuch as the situation in the hall interested me somewhat more than what was happening on the platform.

The prayer meeting followed its own routine. There were nearly 200 people present, of whom approximately three fourths were younger than 45. Several, judging by their cars, had driven over from other villages, some with children. The preaching was replaced by a prayer, the prayer by the singing of psalms and the psalms by preaching. The majority of the believers were German by nationality and the meeting was conducted now in Russian, now in German.

Boris Koporushin is short, stocky and energetic. He has two children and his old home is already crowded and it is necessary to build a new one.

Despite the fact that it is Sunday, Boris, like many other kolkhoz machine operators, is working. Plowing, sowing and harvesting do not take either days off or "holy" days into account. For farmers at these times all the days are holy. And yet, for the believers of certain confessions, the "holy" day comes on Saturday and for others on Sunday. And then they usually do not acknowledge the plowing or the sowing or the harvesting.

I spoke with Boris during the lunch break.

"You know," he said, "the more I size up our Baptists, the more I discover in them individuality and the striving to set the congregation against the workers' collective."

[Author] "What evidence do you have of this?"

[Boris] "Well, first, there is the fact that many do not go to work where they are needed, but rather where they can put their time in and later earn fairly good money on the side doing independent contract work. Second is the fact that they judge the people whom they live and work next to. You hear how everyone around is either a drunk or a swindler or debauched."

[Author] "The independent contract work," I answered, "is because of the large number of children. You, Boris, for example, have two children in all, but you are not wallowing in money. But they have 8 to 12 children. Out of necessity they start to look for independent contract work. As for placing themselves above other people and setting the congregation up against the workers' collective and society, those things come from the very faith itself. Moreover, this is a typical feature of any religion--the attempt to prove that only someone who shares its dogma and carries out the corresponding instructions can become the possessor of the highest truth and the highest morality."

[Boris] "This I understand. But I think that many of those who attend the prayer meetings do not really believe in God."

[Author] "Is it possible that faith is not the only thing keeping these people in the congregation?"

[Boris] "Well, what then?"

[Author] "Well, let us discuss the matter together. Take again the case of those with many children--it seems to me that they were the majority there. How much would a house for such a family come to?"

[Boris] "If you add everything up, it would come to around 18,000."

[Author] "Thus," I added, "if there are 2 families with 10 children, then that means, if a maximum of 2 young people in each family will remain with the parents. The remaining eight will need to build their own homes and sufficiently

spacious ones. This is approximately 140,000. They might make a loan of, say, 2,000 or 3,000 at the factory. Three times 8 is 24 and that leaves 116,000. Where will they get this money? Indeed, there simply can not be any kind of special economizing in families that are raising so many children."

[Boris] "In the congregation they help each other build free of charge."

[Author] "How much would the construction work amount to?"

[Boris] "About 2,000 per house."

[Author] "That takes care of another 16,000. This leaves 100,000..."

Where they would get this 100,000 Boris did not know, and the believers themselves gave various answers:

"Part our parents gave us, part we saved ourselves..."

"We worked and put it aside a little bit at a time... In fact, we do not spend anything for tobacco or wine..."

"Our 'Brothers' and 'Sisters' helped..."

They helped... Just how? the people I talked to just walked away from the question and in the village soviet they could not say anything definite. But you can not hide from the world in a village. And when I began talking to the local inhabitants they answered me immediately: the believers give them loans and they pay it back little by little.

Here I have uncovered that invisible force which draws to the prayer house a large part of the people who go there allegedly for fulfillment of their obligation. After having received a large loan, a young family is indebted both morally and materially to the congregation. And so, whether you want to or not, you carry out all the demands of the congregation.

The children... The baby carriages in front of the prayer house... Even before they have learned to stand up firmly on the ground, the children are immersed in the atmosphere of the congregation. Their first ideas about faith come to them from their religious parents, they form their first religious feelings and they assimilate their first religious instructions. The school, which they start attending much later than the prayer house, already has to re-educate them and to change their established stereotypes of knowledge and behavior.

Here, there is a conflict between, on the one hand, the power of family tradition, the firmness of the previously formed psychological stereotypes and love for one's parents--the believers, and their authority and, on the other hand, that world into which the school leads the child. Behind it stand the truth of life, the authority of the teacher, the school collective, the joy of knowledge about the world and scientific conclusions and logic... The arena for these conflicts and for their struggle is the soul of the child.

While growing up a young person from a religious family becomes more and more aware of the contradictions between the requirements of the congregation and that real life which seethes alongside it. And the congregation, in attempting to hold on to him, engages newer and newer "coupling levers." Guided by the ideas instilled since childhood, that only a believer can be a genuinely moral person, and that means also a faithful, trustworthy and sincere person, it is suggested to him that he set up his own family with a person like himself. All the intellectual culture of humanity that extends beyond the framework of the religious ideas is sinful. "worldly temptation," which is privately but strictly banned. The family emerges, children arrive and the mechanism for handing out loans and for assistance in the construction of a house, etc., etc., is engaged.

So that by far there are not always religious convictions and frequently even these are not the reason that young people from believing families in such congregations accept the water baptism and attend the prayer meetings. By no means are just religious affiliations but also purely earthly circumstances used skillfully by the congregation to create the situation it needs: believe or not, but accept the water baptism and fulfill all the requirements!

The local House of Culture is significantly more well-built and spacious than the prayer house, but also more untidy--rough floors, walls, graphic agitation which could be more accurately called unattractive...

The congregation of Krasnaya Rechka, which is immeasurably smaller both in the number of people and in their own material resources than the 40 Years of October Kolhoz, is also more efficient and more adaptable to the "sinful" life. Not that this is such a rare occurrence.

It is splendid whenever a propagandist knows both the Bible and the dogma of the people with whom he is working. Then, as they say, he holds all the cards in his hand. But are we not running to an extreme here, to a certain extremism and from here to the idea that we should give each propagandist a Bible (or a Koran) and the problem of atheistic training will be solved? And from here to the seldom expressed, but frequently implied, "objective" justification for formalism in atheistic work, and sometimes for complete inaction? They say, none of our propagandists knows the Bible or the Koran, and therefore, they say they can not do anything!

And once again the problem requires special discussion. I will confine myself to just a few comments. Is it not really possible to discover without the Bible that the congregation of Krasnaya Rechka is successfully satisfying many really non-religious needs of the people? Is it really necessary, for example, to know the Bible in order to unite those who test their own powers in the composition of poetry and prose? Yet, in fact, neither in the House of Culture nor in the library is there a literary association or circle! If you want to write poetry--write for yourself and keep it in your night table. And if you want to share it with people--go to the prayer house and there they will listen to your poetry attentively and respectfully, and they will definitely praise it--if, of course, its content is "spiritual"!

There are no frank discussions about the moral problems disturbing the young people, about good and evil and about the sense and goal of life... But, on the other hand, these things are constantly spoken of in the sermons that resound in the prayer house and in the so-called "young people's contacts." Here atheists should set up the facts of real life and develop public debate on these questions of dispute and on the quotations from the Bible.

Since we are talking about young people, let us turn to the school. Honestly speaking, I had already become rather afraid of certain institutions. You come to get acquainted with atheistic work and they overload you with such a stack of all kinds of books, reports, plans and elaborations. No single trip would suffice in order to examine all this written material attentively and carefully. But perhaps that is precisely what is intended. A person might spend a day, a second and then a third and then look at the stacks of as yet unstudied materials and out of weariness say: "Well, comrades, judging from the 'documents,' you are doing quite a bit and apparently correctly. Well, but you will excuse me, but there is no time to make any sense out of all this..."

I confess I just looked briefly at everything that was shown to me and similarly explained everything that interested me. Out of all of it I will cite one item--my acquaintance with the "Atheist Reading Room."

[Author] "Does it," I asked, "attract children from the believers' families?"

[Worker] "Now what can I tell you..."

[Author] "Well, just tell me frankly."

[Worker] "Well, to be frank, they avoid it."

[Author] "Then why do you need it? Perhaps it would be better to have a 'Window on the World' or 'Man and Nature'?" It is not a matter of the name, but rather that it draws in children and helps them learn something new.

"What are you saying?" they retorted. "And if the Rayon Department of Public Education should check? Do you know what would happen if we did not have an 'Atheist Reading Room'? They would start browbeating us about it at all the meetings for the entire five-year plan..."

We are talking about one specific Baptist congregation, but, it seems to me, there is a lot that is typical in the very methodology of its adaptation to local conditions for like congregations. And what is most characteristic is the use of not only religious factors, and frequently not so much the religious factors, but also purely earthly, "worldly" factors, which, for one reason or another, escape our attention, in order to retain the believers and to fortify their religiousness.

For a long time a classic example has been the story of how Marya Petrovna's husband died (Anna Nikolayevna's house burned down) and she was left with two (or three, or four, or five...) children. And suddenly, as they say, the sect members appeared on the scene. They touched up the fence, fixed up the house,

repaired the barn, brought wood and cut and chopped it. and "brought" clothes for the children. And, as they say, the woman fell "into the sticky nets of the sect members"!

Whenever I read similar stories (they, alas, are many), I am always puzzled: why do the author and the editors curse these very same "sect members"? For the fact that they came to help a person at a difficult time? For the fact that they shared and helped in overcoming the person's grief?

And I am also puzzled further as to why the author and the editors did not ask the question: why, when a person was grieving, did only a religious congregation come to help him and not a labor collective or a trade union organization or the local soviet?

And if each would do what he could and should do, then our lives would be different and religious congregations would not be expending any time at all on non-religious functions, thanks to which today they keep under their influence a fairly significant portion of the believers.

Of course, it is necessary to carry on atheistic propaganda. And of course, it is necessary that it be interesting, accurate and specific. The word of the propagandist should match up without fail with the matter of the restructuring of our entire life. For this reason, so it seems to me, the amount of results obtained by atheistic work in Krasnaya Rechka is small because the local atheists rely basically on the word and give little thought to the fact that it is necessary to convert it into a fact of real, everyday life.

Of course, the local community can not solve everything using its own forces, but it is necessary to expose urgent problems, to make them known and to seek the resources, means and methods for solving them. But even water will not flow under an imbedded rock.

I understand that the easiest thing is to urge others to take action. And, therefore, I want to submit for the consideration of the readers and the competent agencies and organizations the matter of providing housing in rural areas for newlyweds from large families. This problem, so it seems to me, has already been placed on the agenda of life itself and requires a solution both from the point of view of the principles of social justice and as a stimulus for increasing the birthrate and, finally, as a reliable method for keeping young people in the village.

I understand that the problem is not a simple one and that it is caused by the shortage of construction materials and the lack of construction workers. Possibly it will be necessary to have centralized solutions for some of the problems, but much is determined by local initiative, action and enterprise. Otherwise, why is this problem being solved in some places and in other places even discussion about it is considered to be a sheer waste of time?

And finally, let us pose the question: how does it happen that certain of our clubs and houses of culture can not stand up to the competition from the prayer houses? Of course, a lot depends on the cultural workers, on their professionalism and on their degree of interest. But a lot also depends on those conditions into which they have been placed. And therefore, I will permit myself to pose this question to the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Ministry of Culture and the All-Union Komsomol's Department of Culture.

The existing system for the acquisition of musical instruments, equipment and other supplies for cultural institutions is giving the religious congregations and prayer houses a clear and indisputable advantage over state and trade union institutions and thus is inflicting notable damage on the ideological work and undermining its authority in the eyes of the populace. Do you consider the situation created to be normal and responsive to the spirit of the times and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress? If not, then what alternative seems to you to be more reasonable and effective?

COPYRIGHT: Zhurnal "Nauka i religiya", 1986

12752

CSO: 1800/128

CULTURE

TV VERSION OF BURLATSKIY PLAY REVIEWED*

PM081035 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Dec 86 p 5

[I. Kashchenkov "Political Teletheater" Review: "Being Tested by Life"]

[Text] You catch yourself thinking: So, despite all the urgency of what is happening on the screen, it does not show anything particularly new apart from a few topical vignettes. Five, 10, or even 15 years ago there used to be wide-ranging talk on many subjects in family circles, plant shops, kolkhoz stock units, newspapers, and at the most representatives and authoritative forums.

So then why is it that you are riveted to the action played by just two actors? The point is that the political drama [spektakl] "Two Viewpoints from the Same Office" [Dva Vzgl'yada iz Odnogo Kabineta], staged by Director V. Brovkin from F. Burlatskiy's play, calls for action rather than fruitless talk, and dives straight into the thick of our present-day life. The period of a sharp turnabout, inaugurated by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, passionately demanded of every Communist and every party worker that he accurately and clearly define his role and stance in restructuring.

We see before our very eyes the heated culmination of an open and sharp clash between former close friends, fellow-students in the academy. Obkom Second Secretary Ivan Streshnev (played by Petr Velyaminov) is spending his last few hours in the office: No, he won't manage to work together with Vasilii Shirokov (Andrey Boltnev), who has only just been elected obkom first secretary. People of the same generation, with similar experience in life, professional party workers, but how diametrically opposed are their perceptions of restructuring, of its objectives and methods!

We learn from the dialogue that Shirokov suddenly declared, without mincing any words at all, at the obkom bureau session: "It will be necessary to replace all who are barriers to restructuring." And he has weighty reasons for such frankness: That which he has seen here is, in his words, a wall which cannot be bypassed and will have to be demolished. His accusations are harsh, eloquent, and specific.

*The complete text of the Burlatskiy play is published in JPRS-UPS-87-011, 26 February 1987.

And so the drama develops its main topic of truth and publicity. Should problems be revealed or concealed? In Shirokov's view, to reveal them means to embark on their solution; not to reveal them means to be scared of even thinking about them, thus displaying a downright indifference to human needs which will not disappear by themselves. But for Streshnev, to reveal problems seems even dangerous. He believes that they are impossible to solve by local efforts, resulting only in "rocking the boat." A different matter if orders were to come "from above."

As depicted in the polemical dialogue, Streshnev is a definite success for playwright Fedor Burlatskiy. He represents a typical phenomenon, and people like Streshnev today are the most widespread and difficult opponents of restructuring, because it encounters their opposition at all levels in the management of public life. And yet, despite its standard features, this phenomenon is multifaceted and multiform, while the roots of its worldly and social ideology are firmly implanted in that which, not so very long ago, was becoming an increasingly active and dangerous brake on our advance.

Streshnev is not simply a product of his time, he is a participant and actor who shaped its nature and, therefore, he himself bears many of its distinctive marks and features.

Today, however, he is more confused than anything else. After all, he remembers very well that 10 and even 15 years ago the right, correct things were indeed said on many occasions, but these remained just words, powerless to resolve the accumulated problems. And he gradually got used to fearing innovation, openness, and publicity. Because he was afraid that they might cast light on figures and at levels where, in his sincere belief, such openness and publicity had no right to penetrate.

There is another essential feature in people like Streshnev: They are afraid of responsibility. Not just because out of cowardice they shut their eyes to obviously unjust matters and phenomena, thus forgoing their party, civic, and official honor. They are to be considered unfortunate and blameworthy for the fact that, for years on end, they got accustomed to unthinkingly and safely executing orders "from above." And to lack of initiative, for which they were not duly taken to task.

It may be a paradox, but it is nevertheless a fact: Just think back on all that was said in defense of the independence and initiative of leaders of enterprises, organizations, departments, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses. And the result? Now they are given these rights on an increasingly broad scale. But people like Streshnev did not prove ready to accept them: They are used to a different style of thinking and acting. They are not ready, they have not been taught to be free, in other words to be able and willing to shoulder personal responsibility. The administrative paralysis which blocks the independence, vision, and daring of captains in many links of the national economy is perhaps the heaviest burden bequeathed by people

like Streshnev to the restructuring which is gathering pace. Moreover, this paralysis is camouflaged by the simple and hackneyed phrase: We have seen it all before. Where is the guarantee that the restructuring will not get bogged down? Give us this guarantee, and we will... No, it is not the truth but a cover-up for the truth that they seek in the experience of the past.

One fully understands the author's desire to submit the broadest possible range of current topics and problems to the viewer's judgment. Given the limitation of air time, however, this desire at times results either in patter or in an insufficiently well argued stance by the heroes.

The "Political Theater" is only just taking its first steps on Central Television, it has only just started seeking its place on the blue screen. It is already clear that this quest is highly promising and fruitful. The only point is that maybe we are being too clever with our own selves, let alone the financial inspector, by calling such a program a "drama." Is it necessary to dress in theatrical clothes something that is a 100 percent current affairs matter? Current affairs programs have their own laws and dignity. After all, John Reed's 10 days still shake the world, and by no means only because of their topicality.

/12858

CSO: 1800/276

TARKOVSKY FILMS POPULAR WITH RUSSIAN YOUTH

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, Jan 18-25, 87 p 10

[Article by Tatyana Khlopyankina]

[Text]

ANDREI TARKOVSKY's films have been on in Moscow for two months. My daughter, a university student, told me about herself and her fellow students trying to see "The Mirror", standing in long lines all for nothing because the tickets had been sold out a week in advance. "Full houses for two months!" This was shouted excitedly into the telephone by an employee of the cinema circuit directorate who had come to get accustomed of late to sadly count the number of unsold seats even on days hits were on. The copies of Tarkovsky's films have been worn out, having been shown more times than they could stand, and still not everyone has seen them who wants to.

Was Andrei Tarkovsky, then already terminally ill, aware of the triumph of his films which caused him so much pain and suffering?

Tarkovsky burst into our lives on the crest of the renovation the country was going through following the Party's 20th Congress, together with the new, young poetry, new songs and new literature.

I remember a photo of that period showing smiling 30-year-old Tarkovsky holding up the Grand Prix awarded to him at the Venice film festival for the film "Ivan's Childhood", an agonizing story of a boy-soldier whose heart has been charred by hatred of the fascists and who only sees in his dreams a childhood cut short by the war.

"Ivan's Childhood" was first shown in 1962. Then followed what we now call a stagnation period. It was not easy for all. This was doubly true for Tarkovsky, who always worked hard and was incapable of timeserving. The mere listing of Andrei Tarkovsky's films in the Dictionary of Cinema and the dates they were released is

a dramatic reading: "Andrei Rublev" (1971), "Solaris" (1972), "The Mirror" (1975), "Stalker" (1980). Each date is a milestone in the history of Soviet cinema. But look at the increasing gaps between the films. What happened in the intervals which were as long as three or five years? Unrealized plans? Pictures which could have become triumphs of our cinema, which have not been made by Tarkovsky?

In 1983, Tarkovsky made another film, "Nostalgia", in Italy and did not return to Russia. Several days ago, on December 28, 1986, he died at the age of 54. One can only guess that his separation from his country was not easy, and must have been a forced one. However, the impression of this heavy loss is intermingled with another feeling, that of justice having been restored. Even film critics can hardly remember the names of all the films trumpeted about in the past, whereas Tarkovsky's films which vanished from the silver screen for a long time continued their life and made an important impact on us. It seems impossible to like or know something you've never seen, but, as it happens, it is possible. Tarkovsky's films are eagerly snapped up today by young people. This proves that these films were remembered right up until their recent re-showing. What has happened to them is an integral part of the changes that have taken place in this country in 1986. The purifying thunderstorm which broke out during the 5th Congress of film makers blasted to smithereens the huge Potemkin village our cinematography was growing into, and showed the real value of each real work of cinematic art. Today, we already automatically speak of "Alexei German's school", despite the fact that the films in this

school spent a long time on the shelf. This means that, like Tarkovsky's films, they too were making their own impact even without having been released. The titles of Kira Muratova's two films "Short Encounters" and "The Long Send-off" had been prophetic, unfortunately. Filmgoers had only a brief encounter with the first film. The second film was released a decade after being made. These two pictures were played before packed audiences at the House of Cinema recently, and it turned out that their lucid message is modern.

Today we are witnessing "comebacks" of films which we could never have dreamed would be released. We turn on our televisions to see, to our amazement, that young people have learned in a matter of months how to speak their mind without any notes. We read newspapers eagerly. A bill announcing "The Mirror" is fluttering in the winter wind. Tarkovsky didn't make it back to us, but his films did.

/9317

CS0: 1812/44

CULTURE

MOSCOW 'STUDIO THEATER' EXPERIMENT DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 January 1987 carries on page 3 under the headline "Studio Theaters: A Vital Mission" a full-page article under the rubric "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Business Club" (Delovoy Klub). The article consists of a discussion on the 2-year experiment of running four studio theaters and the "Ekho" Experimental Studio Theater Association on the collective contract, an experiment which began in Moscow on 1 January this year by decision of the Moscow Gorispolkom. It opens with an editorial introduction, which reads:

"Studio Theaters. They are perhaps the most dynamic and most mobile element of the general theatrical process. Something which yesterday was unbelievable is now a normal condition of their work..."

"The following people met at the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 'Business Club': A. Aganbegyan, acting academician secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department; Ye. Grunin, chief of the Culture Section of the Krasnopresnenskiy CPSU raykom; S. Kugushev, chief of the USSR Gosstroy Collective Contract Department; S. Kurginyan, artistic director of the "Na Doskakh" Studio Theater; M. Rozovski, artistic director of the "U Nikitskikh Vorot" Studio Theater; A. Rubinshteyn, chief of the Socioeconomic Problems of Artistic Culture Sector of the USSR Ministry of Culture and USSR Academy of Sciences All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Arts; L. Solntsev, chief of the Popular Creativity Sector of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Arts; V. Spesivtsev, artistic director of the Moscow Experimental Studio Theater; V. Shadrin, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Culture Administration and secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Theater Workers; the dramatist M. Shatrov, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers; and M. Shchepenko, artistic director of the "Kamernaya Stsena" Studio Theater. The business club session was chaired by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Chief Editor A. Belyayev."

Belyayev notes the "informal" and "democratic" nature of these small-scale studio theaters and stressed their "passionate desire not to lag behind the times, to 'break new ground,' and to deal with real, socially significant problems which would not only reflect the revolutionary changes in all spheres of our life and also help to make those changes irreversible."

/12858

CSO: 1800/276

CULTURE

RUSSIAN THEATER SEEN AS 'ELITIST'

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, Jan 18-25, 87 p 3

[Text]

TODAY, the theatre - the Soviet theatre in particular - is nothing short of a small-scale model of our whole society. Some critics may dispute this definition preferring the old ones like Shakespeare's "mirror", and Mayakovsky's "magnifying glass". The old definitions are certainly still true, but analyzing the events that have taken place in the Soviet theatre world of late, one cannot help noticing how eagerly and enthusiastically the stage people have been clutching at everything new, fresh, honest and sensible that has been getting into our social life and economic structures. In recent months, the theatres have been buzzing like beehives. Everybody has been discussing everything.

To use theatrical terminology, the theatre today lives and acts in the genre of drama, if not tragedy at times. The heaps of organizational absurdities, amassed over the years, provide occasional comic relief.

Modern theatre, especially the Russian theatre, reminds me of dried lava. It is known to have come up, earlier in this century, with major reforms that have transformed world theatrical art. Whether or not the beginning actors in Europe, South and North America or Asia are aware of it, they are born with Stanislavsky's ideas imprinted on their theatrical genes. While creating our art in the context of modern civilization, the Russian theatre raised the profession of stage directing from the managerial to a truly creative level, and made the director one of the co-authors, if not the sole author of the play, as well as brought the dramatic art up on a par with the works of literature, music and pictorial art, in terms of social relevance.

The innovators of Russian stage, namely Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Meyerhold, Vakhtangov, and Tairov, whose activities in the 1920s gave rise to a veritable explosion of bright colour and productive ideas, influenced stage art in a revolutionary way. It was a volcanic eruption. In

the 1930s, however, the lava began to dry up. The very nature of the theatrical art got distorted.

It is in the theatrical art's nature to be born at the grass roots. Everything begins with a company of enthusiasts rallying around a talented leader. It is essential, too, that the company and the dramatist are indissoluble. Both Chekhov and Gorky are known to have made their names as dramatists at the Moscow Art Theatre. Besides, the theatre is by nature a self-sufficient and self-regulating system, sensitive to every change in the social environment, to the audiences' demands and moods. Governmental agencies' control over the theatres should be akin to the magnetic field in which individual companies float at will. It should be borne in mind, too, that the theatre is the most sophisticated entertainment, aesthetically. It needs a sophisticated audience and is therefore elitist. (I think it is high time to rid the terms, "elitist" and "mass" art of the suspicious overtones they have been made to acquire over the years.) Among various forms of entertainment, drama is certainly of the highest order.

It follows from the above axioms that the theatre must be flexible, changeable, and mobile.

All these requirements have been ignored. The theatres were organized by decree and kept under a tight control verging on absurdity. The dramatists took their plays to the Ministry of Culture instead of the theatre, and the public lost interest in drama. Last year, dozens of theatres stood literally empty.

However, the theatre is known to be sinularly viable. No matter how badly you damage it, it lives and breathes on. As a form of informal association, the theatre has proved extremely attractive to the young. They value its team spirit, its atmosphere of a democratic commune and round-the-clock activity. They see it as a means of self-expression and direct response to the present-day realities. The movement of amateur and semiprofessional drama studios has acquired amazingly large proportions today.

The congresses of theatrical workers from the Russian Federation and the whole Union have undertaken, as their minimum programme, to implement joint control over the theatrical process with the governmental agencies. The theatre people will have the biggest say in all aesthetic issues. Beginning from January 1, 1987, 73 Soviet theatres have engaged in an "experiment", trying out new rules and restoring the original meaning to the axioms of dramatic art. The question is to renew its very nature rather than form.

/9317

CSO: 1812/44

CULTURE

GUMILEV'S AFRICAN DIARIES DISCUSSED

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 4 Jan 87 p 16

[German Dryubin review of letters sent from Abyssinia before World War I by the writer Nikolay Gumilev: "Where Are Gumilev's African Diaries?"; first three paragraphs are unattributed introduction]

[Excerpts] Gumilev wrote about "discoverers of new lands" and was nicknamed a Russian Kipling. His collections of poems—"Pearls", "Tent", "Quiver" and "Flaming Tower", which brought him fame—were inspired by his journeys through Africa. But he never was a bard of colonialism. The thirst of the explorer in him, his very deep interest in the culture of Africans had, over and over again, imperiously urged him to the innermost areas of the Dark Continent. And if today we know of Nikolay Gumilev as of one of the brightest poets of the beginning of the century, then we know very little about Gumilev the explorer. But on his journeys he collected ethnographic materials and kept detailed notes.

Where did the poet's African diaries (which tell us about his last, third expedition to Ethiopia) vanish to?

Journalist German Dryubin managed to discover unique materials concerning that journey. This is the first time they are being published.

In April 1913, Academician Vasilii Radlov, director of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Petersburg, and Lev Shternberg, the Museum's learned Curator, delegated Nikolay Gumilev and Nikolay Shverchkov, 17, the poet's nephew, to Abyssinia (former name of Ethiopia). The expedition's task was to collect ethnographic data and to study the Galla and the Somali tribes. Neither Radlov nor Shternberg had the slightest doubts about Gumilev—they knew that they were sending a professional ethnographer to Africa.

Some interesting letters written by Nikolay Gumilev have been preserved. The poet mentions his diary already in his first letters written aboard ship and upon arrival in Africa. He sent a postcard of the Suez Canal to his wife, the poetess Anna Akhmatova: "My translation of Gautier is proceeding poorly, but my diary—much better", and "we are impatiently waiting for Africa". From Djibouti he wrote a longer letter to his wife. Here he speaks of the

diary in great detail: "My diary is going well and I'm writing it so that it can be quickly published. In Jeddah a shark was caught from our ship--it was really something to see. It took up two whole pages in the diary." And we do know the fragment "Catching a Shark" printed in NIVA and a large fragment "From a Journey Diary", under the title "Hunting in Africa", included in the posthumous collection of short stories by Gumilev--"Shadow From the Palm," published in Petersburg in 1923.

However, we must bury the vulgar legend about Gumilev supposedly being a sort of bard for white conquerors. A cultured European himself, he did not at all praise the wars of aggression waged by the Europeans in Africa. Gumilev, the humanist poet, who deeply sympathized with and understood very well the life of Africans, expressed this attitude of his both in his work as an ethnographer and in his art.

Valeriy Bryusov wrote about the collection "Pearls" that the author "is living in an imaginary and nearly ghostly world. He seems to avoid contemporaneity. He creates countries for himself and populates them with creatures created by himself". All that would have been nearly right if the quite real Africa had not become, in large measure, the source that fed Gumilev's romantic poetry. An explorer, hunter and researcher, he writes in the poem "Memory" (a poetic autobiography) that he admires seafarers and hunters for they are freedom's chosen ones, who sniff, as if sweet wine, the air of lands unknown to white men.

World War I, which started in 1914, and for which Gumilev volunteered, hindered the study of the expedition's results. Then came the stormy events of the 1917 Revolution, the Civil War in Russia and Gumilev's tragic death [the 1972 Great Soviet Encyclopedia notes that he was "shot as a counterrevolutionary"] in August 1921.

The disappearance of the African diary, the existence of which had been many times confirmed by Anna Akhmatova and by the author himself, for that matter, is an irreplaceable loss for the poet's biographers and for the literary scholars who are studying his life and art.

But maybe it is possible to reconstruct the details of the African expedition at least from Sverchkov's materials? Because, as we know, Sverchkov wrote a book about the expedition. The MS was submitted to Grzhebin publishers. But, according to Anna Akhmatova, it was "apparently lost there". Therefore, this track is also lost.

Can it really be that Gumilev's African diaries have vanished without leaving a trace?

/6091

CSO: 1812/31

CULTURE

ALMA-ATA TOURIST GUIDES SPEAK ONLY RUSSIAN

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 5 December 1986 carries on pages 14-15 a 2,700-word article by Abdimutal Al-ibekov, published under the rubric "Thoughts To Share," entitled "Welcome to Alma-Ata." The article looks at the sad state, in the author's view, of Alma-Ata tourism, resulting in a profound ignorance on the part of most Alma-Ata residents and those visiting the city about the city and its history.

Alibekov complains specifically of too little attention devoted to actually conducting the tours, too few regular staff members at the Alma-Ata City Excursion Bureau (most of the 300 persons associated with it work part time, as the pressure of other jobs permits), poor facilities, poor training and a lack of methodological guidance, and an acute shortage of Kazakh-speaking tour guides in spite of a substantial demand for them. He also complains of non-Kazakh speaking guides who are unable or unwilling to explain Kazakh place and other city names. Other problems are the lack of hotel space, organization of tours, tour bus service, etc.

/9738

CSO: 1830/245

CULTURE

BRIEFS

YOKO ONO INTERVIEWED--Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 January 1987 carries on pages 14-15 a 4,000-word article by Vladimir Simonov datelined New York and Moscow, headed "Rock-and-Peace: The Ballad of John and Yoko." Simonov recalls the killing of John Lennon in 1980, and describes how he became the first Soviet journalist to interview Yoko Ono. He reports the interview, quoting Yoko Ono's remarks, giving his own impressions of her, and interspersing the interview with historical information about Lennon and the Beatles, placing particular emphasis on what he sees as the political and moral significance of Lennon's work and rock music in general, especially in the peace struggle. He quotes Yoko's views on current political issues, notably Chernobyl and "Star Wars," and discusses with her the reasons for the impact of rock music both in the West and in the East. [Editorial Report] PM/12858

CSO: 1800/276

SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW TV INTERVIEWS RETURNEES FROM U.S.

LD301756 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Dec 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Yu. Rostov and L. Mirzoyev]

[Text] Immigrants who at one time left for the United States continue to return to our country. More than 60 people arrived on this flight. These people are very different from each other. However, they all left their country, whether 5, 7 or 10 years ago, having broken their ties with their friends and relatives. What was it that pushed them to this? What motives prompted them to decide to take this step? [video shows arrivals from New York on Aeroflot Flight 316, close-ups of recent arrivals]

[First unidentified man] I was very keen on Western music.

[Unidentified interviewer] Light music, you mean?

[First man] Yes, rock and roll.

[Interviewer] What did you do in Moscow?

[First man] I was a musician.

[Interviewer] And in the United States?

[First man] And in the United States I did whatever I could.

[Interviewer] Why?

[First man] Because I arrived here, because I do not want to be there and I do not want to do anything there, that is to say everything seemed to me so alien there that I simply had no wish, whilst in the United States, even to continue with my music, because, you know, music requires a normal state of the soul, which disappeared there for good. In that foreign land I came to see how bad a man feels outside his motherland, how bad it is in alien parts, how one begins to suffocate, morally and spiritually, you know, it is a terrible, terrible state for the soul to be in, it is simply a longing, a pain, fear.

[Second unidentified man] It was an alien land to us.

[Interviewer] Why?

[Second man] Because everything is alien, everything is absolutely alien, everything, from beginning to end.

[Interviewer] Why did you go?

[First unidentified woman] Why? Because of stupidity. Mother wanted to have her brother, emigration [as heard]. Everyone imagined America to be different from what it is.

[Interviewer] You have returned from the United States. How many years were you there?

[Second unidentified woman] About 10 years.

[Interviewer] And why did you leave our country?

[Second woman] Generally, it was because of me. I was a dissident artist and I tried to find freedom in art; I was an abstract painter and I fought for freedom of expression, freedom of thought, or so I believed. True, I was a successful artist in America, I sold my work, but all this is fiction: The question of freedom of creative work does not even begin to arise, because you have to earn enormous money for your apartment, for living, to live, for things to wear and all this takes your time, takes your strength and soul. In general you are simply and literally squeezed dry by life. You cannot even begin to dream about the kind of freedom of expression that I used to have here.

[Third unidentified man] You cannot explain it in two words, nor even in a thick book, I think. It is something personal and, at the same time, something that belongs to everyone. There is one word for it: motherland.

/6091

CSO: 1800/280

SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW VIEWS RETURN OF EXILES FROM U.S.

LD092058 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0350 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Commentary by Petr Fedorov, international affairs journalist]

[Text] The return of several large groups of former Soviet citizens to their homeland from the United States and their true and frank accounts of the ordeals they suffered in the capitalist paradise have dealt a painful blow to the prestige of official U.S. propaganda. I think that the plethora of commentaries on this subject that can be heard these days on the Voice of America can be explained as face-saving attempts.

No, it is no disgrace for the United States that people leave, one of them says after all, it is not just former Soviet citizens that leave America, but Greeks, Portuguese and Spaniards, too. By this argument, the Voice of America seems to be trying to put over to its listeners the idea that it is only a matter of a few hapless individuals who have been unable to find a place for themselves in the U.S. equal opportunity society. Well, one might perhaps fall into that trap, but for one important factor: The Soviet citizens are not emigrating to some other capitalist country; their desire, their wish and their request is that they should be allowed to return to the Soviet Union. So it is not just particular U.S. realities that they object to: They are fed up with the capitalist system itself.

I don't propose to repeat excerpts from the interviews they gave after their long-awaited return to their native land. I think you will remember those eloquent admissions of how their frivolous hopes of a free-and-easy life of luxury in the West were dashed. Let us rather take a look at what the serious U.S. newspapers and magazines are writing about this problem. Quoting the words of one of those who came and then left, the WASHINGTON POST says that the rosy picture painted by the Voice of America suddenly becomes, for one arriving in the United States, something like a castle in the air, or a house of cards that collapses before your eyes.

The streets here, the New York TIMES magazine says, picking up the same theme, are not paved with dollars, and our mattresses are not stuffed with banknotes.

A no less stunning discovery awaits those who have swallowed the Zionist propaganda bait: the anti-Semitism in America. According to the New York

TIMES, 1,000 anti-Semitic incidents were reported last year in 30 states alone, from the burning-down of synagogues and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries to the painting of insulting slogans and swastikas on Jewish houses. The paper San Jose MERCURY NEWS concludes that what so astonishes the former Soviet citizens is a perfectly ordinary situation for most Americans.

The way home is not easy; and the road to the homeland is not by any means open to all of those who would like to say goodbye to the free world. Those who, for 30 pieces of silver, have besmirched themselves with dirty slander against our life and committed open treason have blocked their return. America's propaganda mincer has crunched their lives to pieces.

/5091

CSO: 1800/280

SOCIAL ISSUES

FORMER SOVIET CITIZENS RETURN HOME FROM U.S.

LD122104 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)--TASS correspondent Vladimir Rubenov reports:

This year's first group of former Soviet citizens returned to Moscow from the United States today. Among 12 people who arrived from New York by an Aeroflot flight are persons of different age and occupations. As different are the reasons for which they had left the USSR at one time.

Olga Gross, a mother of three children, in answer to the questions what had made her leave the native land 7 years ago, answered: "I was invited by my heavily-ill father who lived in the United States. I highly respect the people of that country. However, the American way of life does not suit me and my family. We could not understand and accept it. Figuratively speaking, I failed to self-actualise in that country. The lack of social protection was striking. But what I wanted was a guaranteed happy future for my children."

Olga's husband, Anatoliy, said as follows about the causes which prompted him to leave the native land: "I was lured there by my father-in-law's tales about the American 'paradise'."

Upon getting to America, the former Moscow musician became a taxi driver. Several years later he managed to get a job according to his speciality.

"My family was materially well off," Anatoliy went on to say. "I recorded several disks, and lucrative offers followed. However, I constantly felt nostalgia for my native land. I realised that, belatedly though, that nothing can serve as a substitute for one's motherland. I am thankful to the Soviet authorities for the act of generosity towards my family and for the permission to return home."

Aron Akselrod, one of the arrivals, had spent 15 years in the United States. "I made a blunder," he said, "and paid for it with long and agonising years of separation from my motherland."

In recent months many former Soviet citizens, who had once left for Western countries, were given an opportunity to return home.

/9599

CS0: 1812/48

SOCIAL ISSUES

EMIGRE FAMILY DISCUSSES RECENT RETURN TO USSR

LD192220 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 19 Dec 86

[Text] Kishinev, 19 Dec (TASS)--"In the first few weeks at home after 11 years of emigration we have felt the contrast between the life of Soviet emigres abroad and those opportunities and benefits available to Soviet people in the USSR," Aleksandr Gdanskiy told a press conference in the native city of Bendery, Moldavia, today.

His wife also addressed the press conference.

In 1975 the family left for Israel. Disappointed in the life in the "promised land," they moved to Austria 2 years later. Recently the Soviet Government, guided by humanitarian considerations, allowed the Gdanskiys and several other emigre families to return to the USSR.

"Today," Gdanskiy said, "we received residence permits at the republic's Interior Ministry. Our request for getting back Soviet citizenship is being examined at the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"We consider buying a home and taking up jobs. One daughter already goes to school. First it was hard for her to follow the curriculum: In 1975 she was only three, so we ourselves taught her to read and write in Russian.

"But she is improving with each day. She was welcomed at school and made many friends already. Next year our youngest daughter will go to school, too."

"What is most important," Maria Gdanskiy joined in, "is that we have returned into the benevolent atmosphere of Soviet society to which we got used since childhood.

"Of course, the USSR has its problems. Large-scale plans have been advanced and much is being done to resolve them.

"But what is significant is that all are equal, mutual attitudes are cordial. I can now only regret the loss of the 11 years and feel pity for others who left the USSR."

/9599

CSO: 1812/48

SOCIAL ISSUES

ICON SMUGGLERS SENTENCED TO LONG IMPRISONMENT

LD230851 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 23 Dec 86

["Exposure of Group of Smugglers--Icon Speculators"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Dec (TASS)--TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov writes:

More than 700 icons by old Russian masters, valued at almost \$2.5 million, have been unlawfully taken out of the USSR with the participation of a group of smugglers-speculators. The investigation of their case was completed and at a trial a few days ago Viktor Goncharenko, Gennadiy Bochkarev, Irina Logofet, Larisa Gudis, and Yuriy Stansler were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The criminal group was headed by Viktor Goncharenko. The major part of his personal collection after seizure was handed over to the (?Moscow) Kremlin museum, where masterpieces of Russian iconography are kept. The splendid works constituted merely "working capital" for the man on the make and his collaborators. The criminals sold them to representatives of a number of embassies. All in all, they made a clear profit of R843,000.

But not every one of the commercial machinations ended well. Icons procured from Goncharenko were found in the luggage of representatives of foreign diplomatic missions stopped at one of the USSR customs control points. In 1981, R36,000 worth of them were seized, R113,000 worth in 1984, and R156,000 worth in the summer of 1985.

For 6 years the five had been pilfering the rarest of icons, buying them up for pennies from those who badly needed money and obtaining them by deception from collectors. During the investigation, money and valuables worth more than R1 million were seized from them. Two hundred more icons prepared for shipping to West Berlin were found in a cache. These were to be received by former Soviet citizens, Aleksandr Beyzer, Vyacheslav Deriglazov, and Dora Medvedeva, who have lived there for several years. Their official reason for leaving the USSR for Israel was family reunions; but, none of them made it to the promised land. Now, with the investigation completed, it is clear that they were motivated by a thirst for profit. Money and instructions came from West Berlin to Moscow, and from here departed the rarest of icons.

/6091

CSO: 1800/280

SOCIAL ISSUES

LITHUANIAN SOCIOLOGISTS STUDY YOUTH WORK ATTITUDES

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 13 Oct 86) pp 54-58

[Article by Liliانا Gutauskene, academic secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department, candidate of psychological sciences: "Vocational Orientation and Social Policy"]

[Excerpts] A most important task of the development of the social sphere is formation of the personnel replacement shift. There are in the country currently more than 100 million student youth, and their qualifications and vocational education will in the immediate future even determine the rate of increase in labor productivity in all spheres of the economy. The changing demographic situation has in this decade markedly reduced the growth in the numbers of youth (aged 15 to 29) throughout the country, in our republic included. Another point is that there is in our country full employment, and for this reason youth has become the sole source of replenishment of labor resources. Consequently, it is essential right now to make efficient use of it in all spheres of social production. It was this which predetermined the guidelines of the reform of the general and vocational schools: enhancing youth's educational level and improving its preparation for independent labor. On the other hand, it is essential to strive purposefully to ensure that the social and vocational aims of youth correspond to the demands and requirements of the development of the whole of society advanced by practice.

A meeting in the CPSU Central Committee on public education emphasized that the level of training of qualified personnel is still inadequate and that it is essential to upgrade the system of tuition and planning (PRAVDA, 2 July 1986). Particularly inauspicious was the situation at the start of the 1980's, when a discrepancy between the aspiration of the bulk of the youth to enroll in VUZ's and supplement the ranks of the intelligentsia and the requirements of the country's development demanding that educated youth become a part of all social groups was ascertained. True, a high rate of development of vocational-technical education was achieved and there was a marked increase in the number of schools of this system in the 1970's, but the prestige of vocational-technical education remains inadequate.

According to the Soviet sociologist M. Rutkevich, the discrepancy between the personal plans of the youth and the interests of the country did not arise all

at once: it matured gradually owing to the fact that the educational system had for many years prepared students for studies in the VUZ's by force of inertia, paid insufficient attention to their vocational guidance and failed to take into consideration the influence of regional factors on the students' vocational orientation. For this reason the gap between the number of applicants enrolling in the VUZ's and the possibility of their being accepted increased. This is how this ratio has changed: 2.4:1 in 1965, 3.9:1 in 1970, 4.6:1 in 1975 and 4.2:1 in 1980 (M.N. Rutkevich, "Educational Reform, Requirements of Society and Youth," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA No 4, 1984). In the mid-1960's more than 80 percent of high school graduates continued their studies in higher and secondary specialized schools, but in 1980, only one-third. Sociological research has shown that at the present time also more than one-half of the country's applicants are preparing to enroll in VUZ's. This could entail significant economic losses for if there is no change in the situation the necessary numbers of qualified youth, who will replenish the ranks of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry, will not have been trained in time. The social consequences are undesirable also: failure to achieve one's aim in life has a negative effect on 18-year-olds. Besides, the youth not enrolled in the VUZ's starts work without vocational training.

What are the most characteristic features of the socio-professional formation of student youth in our republic?

Fundamental sociological research pertaining to this matter is being performed by the Youth Sociology Department of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy, Sociology and Law Institute. Implementing in 1983 the "Youth's Replenishment of the Working Class, Kolkhoz Peasantry and People's Intelligentsia" comprehensive program, the department's sociologists polled 7,000 17-18-year-old young men and women students of secondary general schools, vocational-technical schools and technical secondary schools. The research will be completed when those polled reach the upper age limit--30.

The results of the research showed that a most important factor determining the formation of the value orientations of 17-18-year-old student youth and the singularities of its behavior and choice of profession is the quality of the educational and instructional work in schools of various types.

Aspirations of Student Youth of General Schools, Vocational-Technical Schools and Technical Secondary Schools (In Percents. Table Does Not Incorporate Statistically Insignificant Responses)

Aspirations	Immediately after school			In the distant future			No plans		
	V-tech school	Tech sec sch	High sch	V-tech school	Tech sec sch	High Sch	V-tech school	Tech sec school	High school
Start work	74	66	9	9	17	45	6	7	36
Enroll in VUZ	--	19	60	9	29	5	71	35	25
Enroll in tech secondary school	--	--	25	--	--	--	--	--	63
Support oneself	13	8	--	51	65	69	9	--	18

The bulk of trainees of secondary vocational-technical schools and technical secondary schools is oriented toward and prepared for vocational activity ahead of time. They are trained to work independently immediately following graduation from the vocational-technical school or technical secondary school. Almost one-half of the high school students polled plans to start work only later, "in the distant future," while 36 percent pays absolutely no attention in their plans to labor activity, and 60 percent of applicants is preparing to enroll in VUZ's, and only one-fourth, in technical secondary schools or vocational-technical schools. So the bulk of students intends, upon graduation from our republic's high schools, to study in VUZ's, although it is clear that not all who wish this will be accepted.

Consequently, as already mentioned, there is still an undesirable disproportion between the spontaneously formed aspirations of youth and the limited possibilities of the educational system and the requirements of the economy. It is preventing the optimum formation of the social structure of different groups of youth.

The fact that the applicants of secondary general schools preparing for studies in VUZ's and trainees of vocational-technical schools and technical secondary schools plan on not supporting themselves immediately, but only in the distant future, following completion of their training and acquisition of a profession, is cause for concern. The table shows that only 13 percent of trainees of vocational-technical schools and 8 percent of those of technical secondary schools plan on being financially independent immediately following completion of their training. Incidentally, the data of analogous sociological research conducted in the same period in the Latvian and Estonian SSR's showed that the trend toward the economic nonindependence of 18-year-olds is characteristic not just of our republic ("Baltic Youth: Orientation and Paths in Life," Riga, Zinatne, 1986). An absolute majority of the polled students of Baltic high schools, vocational-technical schools and technical secondary schools (79 percent in the LSSR, 81 percent in the LaSSR and 73 percent in the ESSR) does not aspire to independent life following completion of training and acquisition of a profession. Consequently, even after having acquired a specialty the bulk of the youth would like to live by availing itself of parental support. It would hardly be right in this case to speak about the inadequate wages of young specialists and workers; this testifies, rather, to the fact that the family and the school are not paying due attention to job training and only paying lipservice to its importance. Sociologists and psychologists are increasingly often and rightly emphasizing the negative influence free money and expensive items on the molding of the youth's attitude toward work. It is a rare home in which an adolescent and, later, young person is schooled in the need for independent earnings to meet his material and cultural requirements. The young man, junior or senior particularly, frequently is unaware of and uninterested in his family's finances. In addition, it is only individual schools which tackle questions of the students' mass job placement. Of course, our labor laws permit working and earning only as of age 16, but this is not an obstacle to, say, 15-year-olds during the summer vacation helping in agriculture and in services, that is, where there is an acute seasonal manpower shortage.

Sociological research in the youth environment confirms once again that the entire educational system is entrusted with an important role not only in the education and instruction of the younger generation but also the formation of the structure of social groups of the youth optimally corresponding to the rapidly changing requirements of the economy. It is no secret that for many years improvement of the younger generation's preparation for life was impeded by the fact that the educational system was divorced from practice and that a departmental approach had become rooted in the activity of various ministries and organizations. Most important indicators of the educational system were considered the pass rate and fulfillment of the plans for the training of students, without regard for the specifics of the demographic situation in different parts of the country and the disproportion in the vocational-sectoral structure of the personnel in the economy. Now, in the process of acceleration of S&T progress and the intensive development of production, fundamental transformations are essential in the educational system also. The need to integrate the educational system with the most important processes in the development of science, culture and the economy demanded the creation of a uniform system of vocational guidance, the aim of which is the purposeful allocation of youth per all components of education and full satisfaction of the economy's requirements.

The new version of the fundamentals of USSR and union republic legislation on public education outlines the creation of a responsive and flexible state system of vocational guidance and training for youth which would operate precisely in all components: the home, the school and the industrial workforce.

The interest and responsibility of high school and higher school and enterprise, organization and research and cultural establishments in the elaboration of young people's study plans and curricula are increasing. It is necessary in the elaboration of long-term scientifically substantiated curricula and in planning (how many and what kind of specialists the republic requires) to employ modern methods of social forecasting and modelling. In the past several decades educational sociology has accumulated relatively great long-term study experience on the formation of the most important attributes of young peoples' social groups and life-aspiration trends. Given efficient use of the data of this research, it is possible to forecast effectively and plan a change in this component or the other of young people's enlistment in a social structure: that is, to control these social processes.

Inadequate use is as yet being made of the practical possibilities of educational sociology. The majority of fundamental sociological studies, when thousands of respondents are polled, culminates in theoretical conclusions, although realization of the theoretical ideas is far more important. So, together with fundamental research, responsive practical applied sociology is needed. Were sociological services to be set up under ministry and organization auspices, the work of the administrative and planning authorities would make more efficient use of the data of scientific research. On the other hand conditions would be created for reliance in sociological research on modern computers and the development of new methods of scientific forecasting and planning. All this would contribute to the successful regulation of the most important stages of youth's enlistment in social life.

It should be mentioned that such work is already being performed in the majority of socialist countries. In Bulgaria groups of sociologists have been set up under the auspices of the executive committees, and in the GDR, in the schools; the CSSR has separate sociological services, which, using the findings of sociologists of academic research establishments, prepare specific forecasts and proposals. Thus various ministries, organizations and departments are tackling more efficiently the tasks confronting society and scientifically substantiating the prospects of realization of their decisions.

8850

CSO:1830/228

SOCIAL ISSUES

WORK OF GEORGIAN PUBLIC OPINION INSTITUTE, CENTER NOTED

Juvenile Crime Discussed

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Nov 86 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "Everyone is Accountable"]

[Text] If a juvenile falls apart, he is not the only one to blame. All parts of the child-rearing system bear equal responsibility for this -- the family, the school, society, the militia. Such is the opinion of those who took part in a scheduled meeting of the Public Opinion Institute of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. They discussed the problem of measures to prevent violations of the law among juveniles.

Analysis of the operational situation within the republic testifies that it has improved markedly. Juveniles have not committed a single crime in the 12 regions of Georgia. A broad-scale campaign for the fate of youth in Gori, Gagra, Rustavi, Ochamchira, Zavodskiy Rayon in Tbilisi, and in certain other places, has paid dividends.

At the same time, as earlier, educational work is limping along in Mestia, Khobi, Kobuleti, Akhaltsikhe, Makharadze, and in the Pervomayskiy Rayon of Tbilisi...

Workers of law enforcement organs have taken the right course in decisively segregating from society those people who hold to so-called criminal traditions. Only in this way is it possible to isolate juveniles from the destructive influence of criminal "authority figures". No less resolution is needed in the struggle against drug distributors -- indeed, it is under the destructive influence of these deadly poisons, in particular, that many young men and women have stumbled.

On the other hand, the fact that juveniles are involved in crimes points to defects in the process of rearing children. Obviously, parents, teachers,

juvenile affairs inspectors, the Komsomol and other public organizations are not making enough of an effort to develop sensible aspirations in the growing generation.

The participants in the meeting of the Public Opinion Institute worked out recommendations.

Poor Preparation for State Inspection

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Nov 86 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "State Approval: A Test in Political Maturity." First paragraph is source introduction.]

[Text] Acceleration must proceed only via high quality, via high-volume production of better products. Acceleration is inseparably tied to quality. We are talking about a problem of enormous social and economic significance. Socialism has tackled in earnest the problem of quality, of improving the consumer characteristics and technical level of output, of reaching the level of world achievements.

These points, set forth by comrade M. S. Gorbachev at a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, set the tone and content of a frank and principled discussion which took place at a meeting within the Georgian CP Central Committee, devoted to the progress of preparations for introducing state approval of products at a number of the republic's enterprises.

The meeting heard reports by the chief of the Administration for the Georgian SSR of the USSR State Committee for Standards (Gosstandart), D. L. Kartvelishvili, and the chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision, T. V. Kvernadze.

The meeting was addressed by the directors of all of the republic's 22 enterprises that will be shifting over to state approval of output at the start of the new year.

Also addressing the meeting were the second secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, B. V. Nikolskiy, and deputy chairmen of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, V. I. Vadachkoriya and B.D. Maknarashvili.

First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee D. I. Patiashvili presented a summation of the meeting's results.

It was noted that, beginning on 1 January of next year, 1500 of the country's enterprises, including 22 production facilities located in the Georgian SSR, will change over to the system of state approval of output. This step results from an urgent need to improve sharply the quality of industrial products. This means raising the quality of the output which is being directed into the national economy and of all work as a whole. The new approach to this matter is inseparably connected with a reexamination of the system of evaluating and

compensating the efforts of every person, from the directors to the rank-and-file workers, and with an improvement in the technical level, working conditions and standards of production. It is with these aims, as well, that state acceptance of output is being organized. It is necessary to erect a reliable barrier against waste and the delivery of defective products to the trade network and to the national economy. With its introduction, enterprises accustomed to producing defective articles are denied this possibility: the state approval organs have been given extraordinary powers -- by decision of the party and government, they have been extended the right to halt shipments of output which deviates from state standards and technical criteria and which does not meet the requirements of technological and design documentation.

The results of the approval process depend upon the enterprise itself, upon the quality of the work of each worker, specialist and manager. If each article, each operation, each technological process meets established requirements, there will be no barrier, no hinderance to the products, the labor collective will fulfill its tasks and obligations to society, and it will receive in full from society whatever is due for work well done. But, for defective products, for not meeting market standards, they will be called to the same strict accounting as for nonfulfillment of their direct professional and official obligations, for not meeting state quotas.

It was noted at the meeting that each and every person must have a full appreciation of the extraordinary importance of the task of sharply improving output quality, a task which has been placed on the agenda by life itself and which has been given a central place in the restructuring process.

Both To Supervise and To Assist

Low quality, bad, careless work -- this is the most dangerous form of wastefulness, both of social labor and of material and technical resources. It is not happenstance that the 27th CPSU Congress termed quality improvement the business of every communist and every Soviet citizen to whom the honor of his enterprise and sector, the honor of our motherland, is not a matter of indifference. The introduction of state approval is a decisive, practical step in the changes which are projected within the economy and within economic thinking.

In his speech at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that the key problem in introducing state approval is preparation for it. How things go will depend upon how enterprises and how a sector are prepared for the introduction of this innovation. It is precisely for this reason that the participants in the meeting in the Georgian CP Central Committee, to which the directors, party secretaries, and representatives of social organizations of those enterprises that will be changing over completely to state approval at the beginning of the new year had been invited, scrupulously, step by step, analyzed the course of its staged introduction, which began in October, uncovered existing problems, and shared positive experience that has already been accumulated.

What has the preparatory work shown? Having asked themselves this question, the speakers pointed out frankly that some managers, as earlier, are being

slow to make the changeover, are biding their time, and even still fear the new requirements. However, they have no basis for dramatizing these events beforehand. Indeed, state standards, technical norms and other documents, regulating the quality of produced articles, existed even before the introduction of state approval. And where they have concerned themselves with this problem objectively and purposefully, where they have not allowed the situation to become haphazard, and have not, at every convenient opportunity, used so-called objective reasons to shield themselves, things will go well. No special difficulties are emerging in the transition to extra-departmental control at the collectives of the Mion Scientific Research Institute and with the plant of the Gantiadi Furniture Production Association, where they prepared themselves in advance for state approval.

At the same time, where, for year after year, the notorious gross output indicator has prevailed over quality, where references to the carelessness of shiftworkers, antiquated equipment, and other excuses have been substituted for solving the problem of improving quality, the situation is causing alarm. The meeting's participants sharply criticized the management of the Tbilisi Machine Building Production Association. Reporting on the course of preparations for state approval of output, the general director of this enterprise, G. Sh. Dzhikidze described in detail what kind of commissions have been established and what kinds of orders have been issued in connection with this question. But it is also clear that, for this enterprise, state approval is, first and foremost, a barrier which stands in the way of shipping its products to the consumer. The association has recently had to alter its position drastically: in the course of the past 20 years, practically none of the machine tools produced here have been subjected to any standards of quality, and the lack of rhythm in its work has sometimes not only resulted in stopages that have lasted many days, but has also been the main reason for defective output.

Up until now, they have not succeeded in certifying all the technological processes at the Tbilisi Ekran television plant; this is serving as a serious brake on the introduction of extra-departmental control there and is causing substandard products to be produced. At the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant production association, claims for replacement of defective products are being received for every second universal diesel motorized train produced for agricultural use and a part of the operations there are still being carried out using so-called make-shift, temporary technical equipment, which is not capable of ensuring high quality of vehicles. To change over to state approval, while bearing such a burden of problems, means to threaten seriously fulfillment of plan quotas. This is because state approval will in no event permit products that might provoke censure from agricultural machinery operators to leave the gates of the enterprise.

Not only to supervise, but also to assist the establishment of smooth technological processes and, together with the collectives, to struggle for high quality -- this is the strategic goal of state approval of output and of its representatives at an enterprise. The workers of extra-departmental control organs have come from the same labor collectives where they will now

work in a new capacity. With a good knowledge of the production process, of its "tight spots", they will be able to provide concrete assistance to workers and specialists in improving the quality of output.

It is precisely in this perspective that Rustavi metallurgical workers view the state approval personnel.

"In giving up 47 leading specialists to the plant's state approval organ, we are not losing, but are gaining," the director of the metallurgical plant, G.V. Kashakashvili has stated with conviction, "We are getting good helpers and advisors."

"With the new year, our association is changing over to full economic accountability," said the general director of the Analitpribor scientific production association, Z. Ye. Kruashvili. "It would seem that this should become the most reliable control of the quality of our output. And, nevertheless, we welcome state approval and hope that it will help us to solve a great many problems, among them, that of pre-shipment control."

State approval, the speakers emphasized, first of all means a high degree of public discipline, overcoming the indiscipline and indifference and the wastefulness which are inflicting such evident harm on our economy. Besides this, it is a true way to improve further the distribution mechanism, when every person can hope to receive only to that share of the public wealth which he has actually earned by his own labor contribution and professional skills.

However, we should not underestimate the complexities of the tasks which have been set. It is not easy to combine acceleration with a sharp improvement in quality. Already, during its first stage, extra-departmental control is encompassing many of the republic's large enterprises and the most important types of production. These include motor vehicles for farms and electric trunkline locomotives, the output of the Rustavi metallurgical and crane building plants and of the Azot association, electric welding equipment, and much more. Twelve percent of the republic's total industrial commodity output and almost one-third of the total production of its machine building enterprises is subject to state approval. And here, it is important to ensure that every worker in these enterprises is well aware of his own role and responsibility under the new conditions of work and that he clearly perceives the goals and problems of restructuring the economic mechanism.

Everyone is Responsible for Quality

...A poll conducted by the Georgian CP Central Committee's Center for Study of Public Opinion, concerning questions of preparing labor collectives for the transition to state approval of output, has revealed an unhappy picture. It was found that a considerable part of the workers do not know the problems and conditions of extra-departmental control and do not believe that it will work successfully. Thus, at the Tbilisi Ekran television plan, only 0.9 percent of those questioned expressed confidence in the enterprise's readiness to change over to state acceptance and 28 percent had no idea what was being discussed

At the Tbilisi Machine Building Production Association, only 2.5 percent of those questioned thought that production will be ready to work in the new way...

These facts indicate that state approval has not yet received sufficient publicity and has not been given suitable ideological support. And, indeed, the most important thing today is to speed up the psychological restructuring of every individual, to overcome decisively old, routine work methods. People must understand a simple fact: No longer will anybody pay wages for low quality products.

Of course, there are not and cannot be any collectives which employ only loafers and bad workmen. The majority work honestly, diligently, and perform high quality work. However, it is a fact that, in modern, complex production, even a single negligent worker can cause a great deal of harm to the entire collective. One poorly produced part, or one unit assembled with a defect, is capable of putting a complex mechanism, a whole machine, or an automatic line out of operation. One poor workman can punish an entire collective, if the latter remains indifferent to poor work. And herein lies the great social justice of state approval, which is designed to rule out indifference by a collective toward a matter of general significance.

Consequently, the first and most important task today for all party, soviet and economic organs, as well as for public organizations, is to ensure order within the production process, to wage a merciless struggle against those who turn out poor workmanship, and to explain to all working people the truth that society no can longer permit the manufacture of products which are low in quality and which nobody needs.

Many of the republic's enterprises are preparing in a purposeful way for the shift to state approval using, as a keystone, explanatory work among their personnel and the creation of conditions which will exclude production of substandard products.

"If earlier, the maximum bonus for high production quality was awarded for producing 85 percent of output in the highest category, today this is only for 100 percent," noted the general director of the Tbilisi Elektrovozostroitel production association, Z. D. Chivadze, sharing experience there. And people have understood the necessity of such a step. They understood it because the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations at the enterprise provided a high level of publicity and spent good deal of effort explaining it to everyone.

"For a long time now, our collective has not even known what a claim for replacement of its defective products is," said the director of the Poti hydraulic machine building plant, K. V. Chikovani. "This is the end result of purposeful work to improve output quality, of mobilizing people to solve problems of good quality. And today I can say in complete truth: we do not fear state approval; to the contrary, we welcome it."

Full economic accountability and self-financing, state approval of production, and the transition of industry to new conditions of management -- these are a

requirement of the times. The oblast, city and rayon party committees and local soviet organs must keep these questions in constant view and must carry out broad explanatory work with the collectives. There still are people who, somehow, instead of occupying themselves with preparing enterprises for the new forms of control, are insistently demanding that these be changed or, at least, postponed, and that the range of products subject to approval be reduced. Party organizations must make a principled political evaluation of such cases and must draw the appropriate conclusions, including organizational ones. He who does not prepare production for work under conditions of state approval, not only discredits the new form of control and the interests of the collective, but also the line of the party and government aimed at achieving a basic turning point in the quality of products being produced. The Georgian CP Central Committee expects more energetic reorganization efforts from the first secretaries of party committees and of primary party organizations. It is necessary to assume unabated supervision of all questions connected with state approval and full economic accountability, to look into them, and to increase the responsibilities of directors and their quality control deputies, of OTK [Technical Inspection Department] economic services, and of state approval personnel.

Changing over to 2- and 3-shift operation represents an important reserve for improving the quality of output. The time has come to accomplish practical results here. This work promises enormous benefits. The Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Batumi, Sukhumi, and Tskhinvali city party committees have an obligation to be more aggressive in it. Increased firmness should also be shown by the directors of all-union enterprises, who are called upon not to wait, but to demand that appropriate ministries and departments provide practical assistance in solving the problems which confront their labor collectives.

The activities of the working group for state approval of the GeSSR Council of Ministers and of the Administration for the Georgian SSR within the USSR State Committee for Standards need to be more dynamic. There must be an immense increase in the role of the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the State Bank, and the local councils for questions of financial preparedness for transition to the new conditions of economic management next year. Important problems face the trade union committees. They must attentively follow all problems of labor protection and the development of technically justified output norms and must know precisely what makes the collective tick, what its mood is. All party, soviet and economic organs should work constantly and purposefully with the personnel and should skillfully direct them toward solution of the tasks which confront the labor collectives.

At the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, it was stressed that everything must be done with the participation of the people. The most important of actions cannot be accomplished, as it were, by high-handed methods. And this measure -- state approval of production -- is the most important of all. This means that the demands for preparation now are also special. It is extremely important to master the situation at the local level, to reach every person, to demonstrate high organizational abilities, and to manage matters in such a way that, in the time which remains before the introduction of extra-departmental control, a majority of the problems will be overcome and we will be fully prepared to embrace state approval of production.

SOCIAL ISSUES

GEORGIAN PUBLIC OPINION CENTER POLL ON OPENNESS, PARTY WORK

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by N. Popkhadze, chief of the propaganda and agitation department of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee: "Openness -- A Form of Democracy"; under the rubric "Party Life: The Effectiveness of Ideological Work"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The other day, a sociological poll of the population of the republic was completed. It was titled "A Dialog With the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee." This was the first attempt at conducting this type of research in the 10-year existence of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. Various questions were asked, including: "Are you satisfied with your life?", "What problems of a personal and public nature trouble you?", and "What is your estimate of the value of the work of the Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet of Ministers of the republic in restructuring and accelerating socio-economic development, spreading openness and promoting the role of public opinion?"...

As usual, we discussed the survey questions with a group of experts from the propaganda and agitation department of the Central Committee and experienced party and soviet workers, and consulted with party and labor veterans and rank and file communists. Frankly, some comrades expressed doubts: is it really proper for the Central Committee to pose such questions as, for example, "Are you satisfied with your life?". And what if someone answers that he isn't satisfied? One can speak ironically about this, of course, but we understand that these are not casual doubts; they still come from everyday traditions of internal self censorship and overcautiousness, and from fear of frankness and trust in personal contacts.

It must be confessed that these fears still limit and slow the process of reorienting our thinking. And this occurs even now, after the April (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress have provided object lessons in Leninist adherence to principle, openness, frankness and truth. Direct meetings and contacts between the highest ranking party and government leaders and workers, and frank dialogues with people in factory shops, in the fields of the collective farms and in scientific institutions have now become clear examples of the correctness of the course adopted by the

Party. All this impels us again and again to rid ourselves decisively of dangerous overcautiousness when we are talking about openness, and unreservedly, bravely and fearlessly to reveal the facts and reasons which give rise to negative events and the flaws in our everyday lives.

Just as we expected, the afore-mentioned dialog provoked great repercussions and lively interest from the public. In many labor collectives, the poll stimulated in-depth, thorough discussion of problems worrying communists and all workers in open meetings. For that reason, we decided to conduct the analytic research at the oblast, city and rayon levels.

And here is yet another recent example. A republic-wide conference of the most active party and industrial members was held on the question of the readiness of a group of enterprises for state acceptance of production [as conforming to quantity and quality specifications -- gospriemka]. The leaders of a group of industrial enterprises and plants who came forward were, in the majority, very optimistic, saying they would be ready to switch over to gospriemka by 1 January, 1987. Yet right there on the desk of the conference presidium, virtually on the eve of the conference, lay up to date information from the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee on the theme "Are we ready for state acceptance of production?".

Sixteen hundred workers, specialists, and supervisory workers from Tbilisi enterprises faced with changing over to gospriemka were polled. It was observed that this matter is far from being as satisfactory as it appeared to many of the conference participants. The research revealed that almost half the workers and professional employees are only generally aware of the new requirements and, among engineers, many are not convinced of the effectiveness of gospriemka. With such an attitude, one cannot, as they say, go very far. After all, the human factor plays an exceptionally great role in the process of organizing for state acceptance of production. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee felt it necessary to introduce serious corrective amendments to the republic-wide program of preparation for this important matter.

It is known that openness, adherence to principle, and democratization are the links of one chain, and the party aims for their total realization in practice in everyday life. In Georgia, in this plan, we have definitely gained experience. For example, we learned a great deal in the process of carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Tbilisi party gorkom. New forms and methods of ideologically providing for the realization of critical, topical tasks put before the republic's party organs were successfully approved. Public information and propaganda means were directed at the struggle against unearned income, bribery, protectionism, red-tape and formalism, harmful traditions and customs, and many other negative occurrences.

The Georgian CP Central Committee has completely repudiated so-called "selective openness". By use of effective newspaper reports, commentaries, and broadcasts, sufficiently complete information is given about events occurring in the public life of the republic, down to any negative occurrence.

Strict demands about this or that mistake or blunder by supervisory workers from all ranks, and about the the course of the judicial process in trying bribe-takers and plunderers of socialist property are reported. In this way, while satisfying the interests of society and winning its confidence, we simultaneously nip in the bud the spread of various kinds of false rumors and conjecture.

I would especially like to talk about the television studio "Dialog". For many years now there has been lively exchange of opinion here on vital social problems, together with working out a way to resolve them. Anyone can call the studio or write a letter to make his observations or express his opinions.

Let's take one of the recent "Dialog" broadcasts which was devoted to crime prevention. It preceded publication in the republic newspaper KOMUNISTI of an open letter from the minister of internal affairs, Sh. Gorgodze, to the minister of trade and domestic services and representative to the Georgian Union of Consumer Cooperatives, where a pointed discussion about the facts of corruption and misappropriation in the organizations and enterprises of this branch of industry was held. And both the television viewers and the television journalists themselves were invited to the minister's meeting with communist leaders of the large enterprises and industrial associations. The discussion was straightforward, open, specific, impartial, and at the same time concerned with improving this state of affairs: Where and who had what kinds of violations which could potentially result in criminal punishment was specifically pointed out. Judging by the response, the broadcast, without doubt, stirred up and focused public opinion in a definite way and this, of course, is very important.

One must say that television, using modern technological means, effectively and very actively intrudes today into all areas of life and public activities. Television publicity has a part in the same way in the process of democratization of society and takes upon itself the role of peculiar intermediary between government organs and the population. We have conducted 17 so-called "televised gatherings" of the population which have taken on the character of national referenda on the more topical questions which trouble society. In one of the programs, for example, more than 15000 people took part, including those who wrote letters, called the studio, and took part in the reporting, the discussions, or the interviews.

It follows to note that the opinions and recommendations of the workers expressed at the televised gatherings more than once have been the basis for the adoption of a series of important decisions. On this basis, the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet introduced amendments to the corresponding republic legislation; specifically it heightened the degree of criminal punishment for those who steal vehicles, who are addicted to narcotics, and others.

The so-called meetings by correspondence between the citizens of the capital of the republic and the participants from the leadership of the Tbilisi Gorispolkom which are conducted by the newspapers TBILISI and VECHERNIY TBILISI take the form of a particular city referendum every time. They touch

upon such topical questions as the quality of housing construction, domestic and commercial services to the population, and so forth.

Publications in the press about the course of holding communists accountable, with the approval of party references, actively contribute to strengthening an atmosphere of wide-scale openness, frankness, truthfulness, and unity of word and deed. Each organ of the media tries to do this in its own way, subjectively. Thus the newspaper KOMUNISTI, for example, often turns to reports from the leaders of ministries, departments, and institutions. The newspaper reports on accountability on the spot, subjecting the style and work methods of one or another functionary to constructive criticism. ZARYA VOSTOKA directs its attention mainly to rank and file communists, attempting to clearly determine their role and place in restructuring.

The method of GRUZINFORM, which publishes interviews with newly appointed leaders of large-scale economic subdivisions, is also of interest. The interviews inform readers about the means by which the leaders intend to improve the work of the institutions within their jurisdictions. In this way, the work of the new leaders, from their very first steps, falls under public supervision: "You promised," they say, "so do it!"

All this, of course, does not mean that in ideological work and the analysis of social processes we have no problems or unresolved questions. In our view, the basic, chief difficulty is the shortage of qualified personnel. The shortsighted view that ideology as a sphere of work can be done by anyone who wants -- amateurs and non-professionals -- still exists. For that reason, in this plan, we must carry out a basic restructuring. After all, up to now, incidental people with stereotypical ideas and overcautious people acting in outdated modes, who are afraid to take any kind of initiative or make an independent decision without "instructions from above", have been connected with the business of ideological, moral education.

Reorientation of thought, openness, and direct and honest conversation with people on any question are the conditions for accelerating the socio-economic development of society. This is subject to time, is the key factor in social progress, and the best way to learn to work under the conditions of democracy.

13254
1830/170

SOCIAL ISSUES

GEORGIAN RED CROSS STEPS UP ANTI-ALCOHOL EFFORTS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi MOLODEZH CRUZII in Russian on 4 November 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,000-word report by S. Amiridze, president of the Georgian Red Cross Society, on the society's efforts to combat alcoholism. As a result of coordinated activities with the MVD and the Ministry of Health, the Red Cross has opened 846 community substance abuse centers in factories, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, living quarters and educational institutions. Amiridze reports success in establishing alternative forms of leisure activity such as climbing clubs, touring groups and sports clubs.

GEORGIAN PUBLIC OPINION INSTITUTE LOOKS AT NARCOTICS ADDICTION

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 25 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 400-word report on a meeting of the Georgian MVD's Institute of Public Opinion on the struggle against drug addiction. Participants applauded the work of the MVD and the Ministry of Health, but noted that efforts against narcotics use and distribution have not been effective enough. Particularly troublesome is the involvement of young people. Meeting participants stressed the need for coordinated activity among community and administrative government agencies to eliminate drug abuse, and appealed to the republic's workers to strengthen their own efforts in the struggle.

/6091

CSO: 1830/240

SOCIAL ISSUES

KAZAKH PSYCHIATRIST DESCRIBES HASHISH ABUSE CAUSES, EFFECTS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by Professor G. Zaltsman, head of psychiatry department at the Alma-Ata Medical Institute: "To See the Light Before Its Too Late"]

[Text] Is there really any need to talk about particular narcotics, especially hashish? The general symptoms are rather distinctly manifested in various types of drug addiction that are known in medical practice. Such signs first of all include the development of the body's unique dependence upon the poison weed being used (as a result of which the person is compelled to take increasingly larger and larger doses) and a gradual personality disintegration. But inasmuch as each type of drug addiction has its own distinctive features, they all must be recognized in order to control this terrible vice specifically and effectively.

As a rule, the first "acquaintance" with hashish occurs in one's youth. The teenager imitates persons already experienced with this poison, and is motivated by curiosity and a desire to try what is forbidden. True, when in dubious company, he is subject to considerable pressure from his "experienced" peers. It is not at all with disinterest that the youngster is drawn further into the trap. At first he is offered the stuff free of charge, just try it, but then he has to pay, and quite a bit at that! Therefore, when a teenager gets out from under the influence of such company, it becomes much easier to control the vice that threatens him.

In addition, we note that at first many youngsters do not have to overcome any special internal obstacles because they are unaware of the possible terrible consequences and do not see any big difference between smoking hashish and ordinary tobacco which, of course, is also harmful. This means that action must be taken on two fronts, i.e., more decisive steps must be taken to deter young people from tobacco, and fuller information must be made available to teenagers about the ruinous consequences of drug addiction which in this case is associated with hashish.

Usually, the first experience of smoking hashish is not a pleasurable one. On the contrary, it often results in unpleasant sensations and experiences. These include a feeling of dryness in the mouth and throat, tight chest, difficulty in breathing, faster heart beat, dizziness, ringing in the ears, and nausea. There is often anxiety, an expectation that something is going

to happen to the person, and in other cases there may be feelings of one's own guilt where some minor offenses that were committed some time in the past now seem to appear as major crimes about which he confesses to all who happen to be around him.

If, in spite of disappointment, a person proceeds to use hashish regularly, then the clinical picture of intoxication is quite different. The person is depressed by anxiety for just five to ten minutes, and then follows a unique sensation of being at ease. There is an unrestrained flow of unrelated thoughts that pass through the smoker's mind. Decisions are made carelessly and without responsibility (by the way, at this particular time, the person believes himself to be perspicacious and witty). Surrounding objects are perceived to be dull, blurred, and diffuse, while other objects may seem excessively bright and clear. Some appear as extremely large and near, while others may seem to be small and distant. Time loses definition, there is the impression that events seem to unfold slowly, or, on the contrary, they may seem accelerated (as one hashish smoker said: "minutes seemed like days, but hours seemed like seconds."). A randomly heard word causes a senseless outburst of laughter.

Many scientists assert that a number of the symptoms of hashish intoxication are quite similar to the behavior of patients who, for one reason or other, are suffering from upper cerebral, i.e., cortical, dysfunction. One should emphasize that at this particular time the smoker can become extremely aggressive and cruel and constitute a serious threat to those around him.

After a certain period of time, there is a turning point. Excitation is now changed into lassitude, depression, indifference, and long periods of concentrated staring. Responses become terse with slight irritability. Muscular coordination becomes increasingly disrupted. During this period (although this often occurs in earlier stages of intoxication), the person experiences intense hunger and thirst, pulse and respiratory rates quicken, the blood pressure first rises, then falls, body temperature decreases, the skin becomes pallid, and a cold sweat breaks out. Finally, the smoker falls asleep, although his sleep is restless, accompanied by shivering and muttering.

The clinical picture of hashish intoxication changes again in persons who regularly use hashish for five or more years. Such persons prefer to smoke in solitude, unhurried and lackadaisical. The first inhalations of smoke are accompanied by glimmers of separate unassociated thoughts whose contents are neither focused nor remembered. Then they disappear and are replaced by physical and psychic exhaustion. Perception of the environs becomes dull, colors become faded, sounds become muted and unclear, and the world "becomes clouded by fog." Then there is indifference that sometimes has a shade of sorrow.

Thus, hashish intoxication causes a person many more unpleasant sensations and experiences than pleasant ones (not to mention the revulsion with which

he is viewed by those on the side). But, with frequent repetition, this becomes a habit so that without hashish this person begins to experience a unique mental discomfort, and he feels that he lacks something. Thus develops a special illness -- hashish addiction -- one of the broadest group of illnesses, those of drug addiction.

In order to keep himself "high" a hashish addict is compelled to smoke frequently throughout the day. Without regard to time, he actively seeks his drug and is prepared to pay a good price for it. Hence, the road to crimes...

Personality disintegration is inevitable in persons addicted to hashish. They gradually lose their vocational skills, become egotistic, crude, indifferent to those who are close to them, slovenly, and neglect their family and job obligations. In some cases they turn into tearful whiners who constantly complain about various infirmities, while in other cases they become extremely violent and aggressive. The end is tragic, i.e., moral devastation, and the rupture of social and family ties. At the same time the toll on the body continues to mount. The hashish addicts look pale and emaciated, they age early, develop deep wrinkles on their faces, and often lose their hair and teeth.

A particular danger of hashish is that its use can cause genuine psychic illnesses, the so-called hashish psychoses. Moreover, such illnesses can sometimes develop even after a single experience of smoking a narcotic. During such psychoses, the patient is hyperstimulated, excessively verbose, his speech is disconnected, and his behavior is absurd. The patient's mood suddenly shifts from unrestrained joy to a sensation of horror. The patient has hallucinations, he feels as if someone is persecuting him and that he is literally experiencing his own death. Affected by these kinds of experiences, the patient attempts to flee somewhere and attacks those who are around him.

Considerably more severe and prolonged psychoses develop in persons who regularly use hashish. In terms of their manifestation and tendency to become chronic, these psychoses are similar to a more severe psychic illness -- schizophrenia.

We have observed this course of psychosis in many patients. Between his tenth and eleventh year K. started to spend entire days in the company of unsupervised teenagers. Soon after they began to treat him to hashish, and then he became addicted to smoking it, they demanded money for it. Of course, he didn't have any money, so he resorted to theft. After the sixth grade, he stopped attending school. He managed to get a job a couple of times, at the insistence of his mother, but was unable to hold the job for more than two or three weeks. He became irritable and crude. One time after a regular smoking session, he experienced a sensation of deep anxiety, thought that his friends were bandits who were intent upon killing him, and attempted to escape from them by jumping out of the window.

At the psychiatric hospital to which he was taken he did not communicate with those around him, and unwillingly made only brief responses to the physician's questions. He spoke in a confused way about his guilt and some kind of threat. Finally his predominant mood was one of apathy. He wasn't even bothered by the hospital, was not at all happy to leave the hospital to see his mother, and showed no interest in anything. He has been in this state now for about a year.

Such is hashish — an insidious poison. However, escape from pernicious addiction is still possible. In neglected cases this requires the help of a medical narcotics specialist, but most hashish smokers would be able to refuse it if only they were genuinely aware of the lethal path they had unthinkingly selected for themselves.

It is important, however, that this enlightenment should not come too late, before the drug has already caused an incurable disease (such as in the example we have cited). Particular attention must be given to educational and explanatory efforts among young people, and particularly among the so-called "high risk group," i.e., teenagers who have for one reason or another turned up in bad company. Of course, along with this, stronger efforts must be made by militia authorities to block all the channels through which narcotics can get into the hands of a teenager.

We have in our country all the essential prerequisites to eradicate drug addiction completely, including hashish addiction. The practical resolution of this problem requires the coordinated and systematic efforts of the Komsomol, public organizations, teachers, medical personnel, and the law enforcement authorities.

6289

CSO: 1830/196

SOCIAL ISSUES

KAZAKH EDITORIAL ON SCHOOL DISCIPLINE CRACKDOWN

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata AQZAZSTAN KERTYBI in Kazakh No 10, October 1986 carries on pages 3-8 a 2,700-word editorial entitled "For Conscious Order." The editorial reviews the crackdown on discipline associated with recently enacted school reforms in the KSSR.

According to the editorial, the purpose of the new discipline policy is not only to promote good behavior and proper attitudes in the schools, but also to prepare students as future workers armed with the proper attitudes toward work and society. To this end new rules and regulations have been enacted for classroom and other school conduct with strict measures, including holding students back in school if necessary, specified for violations.

The editorial praises some schools for the progress that has been made, but also criticizes others for their overly "liberal" attitude and for paying insufficient attention to discipline problems. The need for working with families of students—not just with students themselves—to achieve behavioral changes is stressed, as is the importance of the behavioral example set by teachers. Students not responding to normal means of discipline are to be referred to authorities outside the schools. "Ethnic peculiarities" are to be observed in establishing discipline rules.

KASSR: NEW ERA FOR VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 10 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word boldface editorial entitled "Vocational Schools in a New Era." The editorial stresses both the growing need for the specialists produced by 486 middle vocational-technical schools (with 192,000 students and 26,000 instructors) of the republic and the impact of educational reform on them. As a result of this reform, among other things, all republic vocational schools now offer middle as well as specialized education, sometimes in several specialties at once. The key interconnection of school and actual production and the role of new computer-based education are emphasized. Deficiencies in this latter area exist, however, including equipment shortage, lack of plans and schematics. A shortage of specialized, computer teaching cadres is also noted.

CITY KAZAKH CHILDREN HAVE POORER KAZAKH VOCABULARIES

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQSTAN MUGHALIMI in Kazakh on 12 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by M. Zhumabekova, a teacher at No 86 Gh. Musrepov Kazakh Middle School, published under the rubric "School, Methodology, Experience," entitled "Lexicographical Resources--Sources of Wisdom." The article deals with the problem of the poor Kazakh vocabularies of Kazakh children going to Russian kindergarten in particular and urban Kazakh children in general. Zhumabekova proposes individual evaluation and work with individual students as a solution. Language teaching should be a part of all subjects, not just language and literature classes. She also calls for an emphasis on the use of dictionaries.

Zhumabekova admits, however, that much of the problem is due to parents who are themselves unable to speak good Kazakh. In this case, she suggests, a greater effort could be made to promote everyday use of Kazakh in all areas of Alma-Ata life, to encourage good language use and vocabulary building.

ACCIDENTS MEAN PRODUCTION LOSS, COURT COMPLICATIONS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 10 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by P. Baymukhanov, chief of the General Control Division of the KaSSR Procurator's Office, published under the rubric: "At the KaSSR Procurator's office," entitled "Let Us Adhere Strictly to Labor Safety Rules." The article reports on a KaSSR Procurator Office examination of compliance with labor safety and problems uncovered due to the failure of many industries and other agencies to give the matter enough serious thought.

Baymukhanov underscores the great losses to production caused by unnecessary accidents and the heavy court case load that results from the need to assign responsibility. Nonetheless, however, Baymukhanov emphasizes, a strict principle of accountability is now being applied.

/9738

CSD: 1830/244

REGIONAL ISSUES

SIBERIAN OBLKOM CHIEF DESCRIBES REGIONAL RESTRUCTURING

Novosibirsk PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 23, Dec 86 (signed to press 25 Nov 86)
pp 11-16

[Article by Irkutsk CPSU Oblkom First Secretary V. Mitnikov under the rubric "The Strategy of Acceleration: Innovation, Experience, Problems": "The Party Committee: Mastering Political Methods of Leadership"]

[Text] In the course of the purposeful and painstaking post-congress activity of the party, the link in which the political and organizational functions of the party committees are tightly bound—leadership of the economy—has shone through especially distinctly. Bringing the essence of CPSU economic policy to the consciousness of every executor, implementing the qualitative transformations of the mechanism of economic operation in deed, mobilizing labor collectives for the activation of existing reserves—all of these are an important part of the practical work of the party obkoms in restructuring and accelerating the socio-economic development of the oblast.

Today, after the affirmation of the State Plan for the economic and social development of the country for the second year of the five-year plan by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the mobilization of laborers for the realization of the tasks posed to them becomes the main thrust of the work of the party committees and primary organizations. The targets for decisive improvement in product quality and the assurance of the uninterrupted operation of industrial enterprises with collective responsibility associated with the introduction of state acceptance commissions require particular attention.

Experience confirms that success is brought not by directiveness, petty surveillance or the direct replacement of operational personnel, but by democracy in management, collegiality in the making of decisions and personal responsibility of personnel along with a well-defined and specific organization of affairs and principled monitoring over the execution of what is planned. It is namely this approach that the obkoms use today to counter dogmatism and formalism and any type of bureaucratic device. And this requires of each of us, naturally, great competence and deep penetration to the essence of the economic and social processes occurring in society.

The essence of the turn to political methods of economic management we see not simply as an awareness of this party requirement and the comprehension of the urgency of the corresponding restructuring of work style, but as the formation of a new way of thinking among party personnel. We are placing before the party committees and primary organizations the task of being a model of the new manner of work, being an example of a businesslike and principled nature in the resolution of specific practical tasks.

Many problems have accumulated in the leadership of the oblast economy in recent decades: along with the intensive economic assimilation of the natural wealth of the Angara region and increase in its economic potential, return on investment has fallen and the growth rate of production has declined. A difficult situation has taken shape in the development of the social and cultural sphere. In rural areas, for example, the level of material welfare of the population in the areas of housing, domestic services and other vital indicators has remained poor.

It was decided to study the situation attentively and comprehensively and to determine the main areas for action, making maximum use of collective inquiry, creativity and initiative in this work. The problems of the comprehensive development of the productive forces of the oblast were discussed at enterprises and organizations with the participation of representatives of sector scientific research and planning institutes and higher educational institutions, and later at the academic institutes of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and departments of USSR and RSFSR Gosplan and their institutes. Employees of USSR GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology] took an active part in developing a plan for the comprehensive development of productive forces.

All proposals, at no matter what level they were expressed, were considered at the ministries and departments, after which an oblast applied-scientific conference was held that worked out a detailed and well-founded concept for the balanced economic and social development of the oblast. A discussion of specific problems concluded with the development of technical and economic foundations. Many of them were transmitted to the corresponding ministries and departments, and proposals on the most fundamental and major issues were forwarded by the party obkom and oblast ispolkom to the USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers.

The Angara region is an organic part of the unified national-economic complex of the country. Hence the decisive attention that is devoted to accelerating regional scientific and technical progress in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures for the further comprehensive development of the productive forces of Irkutsk Oblast that was adopted taking into account our proposals. Whereas the increase in production was accomplished first and foremost through new construction in the past, in the 12th Five-Year Plan no less than half of production growth should be obtained as a result of the technical retooling of enterprises.

From the first days of the new five-year plan, the CPSU obkom has posed the goal of radically changing the attitude of party organizations and operational managers toward questions of reconstruction and technical retooling. In this

is manifested, in our opinion, the new way of economic thinking and the psychological restructuring of personnel. It is considerably more difficult to conduct a reconstruction than new construction, especially because under conditions of acceleration it is essential not only to start up equipment in a timely manner, but also not to permit a decline in production volumes. In this regard, the problems of training and retraining personnel and the efficient incorporation of scientific and technical achievements into production become acute.

All of these issues are at the center of the attention of the council for assisting the acceleration of scientific and technical progress that was formed in the oblast party committee. The activity of this council has made it possible to raise the competence and constructiveness of party decisions and to concentrate efforts in the chief areas of economic development. Under the guidance and with the participation of the council, 13 regional dedicated comprehensive programs were developed--Power, Timber, Metal, Consumer Goods and others. The development of a comprehensive oblast Intensification program is concluding. It is planned through 1990 and envisages, by way of example, a five-fold increase in the incorporation of robots and manipulators compared to the 11th Five-Year Plan. Through the renewal of machinery and equipment, quality indicators will be raised significantly. Almost four times more funds than in the preceding five-year plan will be directed toward the reconstruction of enterprises.

Life itself and the problems it advances are forcing the party committees to devote most serious attention to restructuring work with people. Questions of the selection, placement and training of personnel have always made up the core of organizational activity. It is precisely a purposeful personnel policy that will have the greatest influence on the economy. In recent years the renewal of the membership of the obkom is being conducted more actively than before. Party organizations have begun to advance young people, women and competent and energetic specialists into management work more boldly. We are devoting especial attention to creating a real and effective reserve. The best-trained workers from it are advanced to responsible positions as needed, and several of them have already acquitted themselves well in practice. The forms of work that are new to us will be greatly helped by avoiding the formalism that existed earlier and will impart a certain dynamism to all of the activity. I would cite first of all the widespread utilization of the certification of managers and specialists, openness in forming and utilizing reserves and the discussion of characteristics at open party meetings.

Great hopes are placed on the system taking shape here of training kolkhoz and sovkhos managers from among skilled specialists. Every year up to thirty people spend several months in a training course at the Irkutsk Agricultural Institute, after which they spend three months at leading farms. For two months they become acquainted with the modes and methods of the work of their mentors, and for the third, they become their doubles: they replace the kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors that have gone on vacation.

The temporary duty concludes with an objective description by the managers of their wards, in which all of their strong and weak points are indicated and recommendations are made on where and in what duties the new specialists can

best be utilized. At the decision of the party obkrom buro, this personnel combat reserve is sent to the lagging farms. And they are successfully coping with their assigned duties.

In striving to raise the efficacy of party economic leadership, we rest more and more strongly on the development of initiative, creativity and, I would say, inventiveness in the activity of party committees, primary organizations and labor collectives.

An example of this work is the Usolskiy CPSU Gorkom and its first secretary, 27th Party Congress Delegate D. Zarukin. For this energetic and enterprising leader of the communists of the city, there is apparently the matter before all else of how people are working and living, what people are thinking about, what their mood is. The work style of Dmitriy Vasilyevich is not to replace managers, but to give them open space, assist them in uncovering opportunities and support them with a good word and, when necessary, a strict reprimand. As popular wisdom has it, a good sowing gives good shoots. And many other managers operate in the same way. As a result, the enterprises of the city and the rayon fulfill their plans and socialist obligations regularly. And, most importantly, the moral and political climate in the collectives and their disposition make it possible to count on reliable work in the future.

The Bratsk city party organization, headed by a delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress as well, B. Getmanskiy, has a sweeping and creative approach to resolving the tasks of economic intensification. Questions of raising production efficiency based on the achievements of scientific and technical progress is at the center of the attention of the communists here. Under the monitoring and with the assistance of the party gorkom and city Ispolkom, drafts of dedicated programs for technical retooling and reconstruction have been prepared at all enterprises of the city. I want to emphasize the principled nature and firmness of the position of the party committee in evaluating the activity of collectives. Thus, it was decided to return for reworking all of the drafts of the programs initially presented to the gorkom. Many shortcomings were distinctly manifested in them: inertia in the thinking of leading specialists, an inability to look at problems in a sweeping fashion and a lack of comprehension of the importance of abandoning conventional stereotypes.

It Bratsk they have, in our opinion, set off on the right path. The industrial institute there has created courses for retraining operational managers, and the practice of reports from specialists at the gorkom and the primary organizations for the purpose of evaluating the course of their restructuring in accordance with the requirements of the times has been expanded. There have been results. Now purposeful work has been organized at every enterprise in the city for the technical renewal of existing production.

Good experience in working under new conditions has been accumulated in the Irkutsk and Angara city party organizations. And nonetheless we sometimes encounter an inability and incapacity to restructure, and even an indifferent attitude toward the changes taking place. Recently many specialists have come into the party committee apparatus without party and political education, especially in the sector departments, and this cannot help but have an effect

on the style of their work. Each of them is trying to use the ways, forms and methods of earlier work that they knew best. That is why they frequently devote their principal attention to tons of metal, liters of milk and other gross indicators, forgetting or not knowing how to look behind them and reach the people on which the whole matter depends.

We understand that the style of work cannot be changed at once, but it has turned out to be even more difficult to overcome an inertia of thought. Hence the manifestations of copying and even clear substitution of the functions of operational, soviet and trade-union organs, that is, an inability to employ political methods of leadership in practice. Certain managers must be corrected. For example, Yu. Litvintsev, first secretary of the Gainskiy Rayon Party Committee. An energetic and enterprising worker and competent specialist, he tried from the very beginning to take upon himself the resolution of all production issues right up to the placement of personnel on farms. It was necessary to work painstakingly with him some, to suggest and direct. It should be said that today he has well justified the trust placed in him as a political leader.

The spirit of innovation created by restructuring requires first and foremost a responsible attitude toward the matter. And, speaking of the party leadership of the economy, we should be fully cognizant of the strategic nature of this political task.

The bureau, secretariat and apparatus of the CPSU obkom are having a more and more active influence on the arrangement of precise and intensive work in the localities and the lower party echelons. Monitoring over the fulfillment of plans and adopted resolutions has been strengthened. This aim is facilitated by quarterly meetings at the obkom at which the whole apparatus is present. The activity of departments, right down to each instructor, is analyzed, and the tasks for the upcoming period are elaborated. The quantity of decrees adopted has been reduced and the sessions and meetings take place, as a rule, at the end of the work day on Saturday.

We have also devoted attention to the problem that during the last five-year plan, certain gorkoms and raykoms literally suffered from an abundance of every sort of commission and verification, while others were outside the field of view and beyond criticism for years. In order to avoid a repetition of this, planning was improved. A new section has appeared in prospective work plans that is dedicated to studying practices in the localities. The business trips of staff members have been fixed on a special stand that presents the specific nature of what has been done by obkom representatives on the spot. We coordinating the verifications carried out by all oblast organizations and institutions. All of these innovations are already demonstrating their effectiveness.

The political approach to the matter on the part of the party committees is being manifested in the well-defined limitation of the functions of party, soviet and operational organs and social organizations. At one time the fallacious practice of substituting for them underscored the aspirations of party managers to achieve appreciable results as fast as possible across a whole range of issues in production and social life, including those whose

resolution called upon operational managers, soviet organs and trade unions. Therefore, raising the level of party work to the requirements of the modern day based on the assimilation of political methods of leadership by all party workers, we are raising demands on soviet, trade-union and Komsomol workers. The sector departments of the obkrm, although not as quickly desired, are accumulating experience in such a restructuring.

The dialectic of the changes that have occurred in our lives dictates its own tasks. The acceleration being conducted in the name of improving peoples' working and living conditions is being achieved by the people. The human factor can be activated first and foremost through strong social policies. The projected measures for the further comprehensive development of the productive forces of Irkutsk Oblast envisage the rapid development of the social and cultural sphere. Thus, whereas expenditures for the development of production will grow by 19-20 percent in the 12th Five-Year Plan, the rate of housing erection will increase by more than one and a half times, municipal facilities by 24 percent, health care by one and a half times and culture by two and a half times. This has become possible thanks to an increase in the share of capital investment for non-productive construction from 22 to 27 percent.

All of this requires not only changes in investment policies overall, but the better utilization of internal resources at enterprises and farms. And here one frequently encounters inertia, outmoded thinking and judgments of the "plan at any price" type.

At one of its sessions, the obkrm buro considered the question of incorrect actions and the lack of reaction to criticism by the chairman of the Zavyty Iliche Kolkhoz in Kuytunskiy Rayon, A. Malekhnova. The farm is well off, and the manager is experienced and knowledgeable. The kolkhoz, however, fails to assimilate capital investments and place housing and cultural and domestic facilities into service every year. Members of the buro directed attention to clear miscalculations and the fallaciousness of such a style of work by the chairman and simultaneously indicated the unprincipled position of the party committee secretary, N. Demantsev. Where else but in such a situation should the party committee display complete combat readiness?

Experience suggests that restructuring begins precisely with the development of the independence and aggressiveness of the primary party organizations and with the affirmation of initiative and a raising of the activeness of communists. That is the chief link that should be taken up right away.

After the 27th Congress, seminars of the secretaries of primary and shop party organizations were held in all cities and rayons of the oblasts at which practical issues in restructuring were reviewed. Obkrm workers took part in every one of them. Meetings were held at party organizations under the banner of "Raising the Calling and Significance of the CPSU Member." At them, communists emphasized that the vanguard role of the party member depends on how he preserves and multiplies socialist property, raises labor productivity, improves product quality and personally participates in accelerating technical progress.

A candid and principled discussion was held on ways of restructuring, the active participation of every communist in this process and the creation of a businesslike and enterprising atmosphere, exactingness and self-criticism in primary party organizations. Earlier, the reports of primary managers were rarely heard at party meetings, and strict accounting from them for omissions in operational and educational activity was even more rare. Now the picture has changed. For a long time, the director of the Biryasinewkiy Kolkhoz in Tayshetakiy rayon was N. Abramchuk. Working under the new conditions, he was unable to restructure, and worked more at the bidding from above. He accustomed the specialists to this. The dependent mindset and the habit of acting by inertia brought the kolkhoz to sorry results. And then the party committee had to propose relieving the director of his duties.

Unfortunately, incompetent people unprepared for a professional attitude are still frequently advanced into the management of labor collectives. Literally immediately after entering into these or those duties, they manifest passivity and indifference and tolerate the coarsest violations of state discipline, placing personal interests ahead of social ones. Will they be able to restructure? We have been able to get rid of many such managers. But the errors and miscalculations of prior years are far from overcome everywhere, and the tasks of acceleration have still not been conceived and understood, as they say, in the hearts and minds.

We explain this namely by the fact that according to this year's results, 76 enterprises have not fulfilled the product output plan, while 98 have failed to meet contract deliveries. In the face of an overall overfulfillment of the industrial-product sales plan, some 130 million rubles of deliveries have still not been realized. There are still managers who do not want and are in no condition to have an influence on the state of affairs, while the party committees have a tolerant attitude toward them, until such time as the discussion of acceleration begins to sound like a phony phrase and false boasting, against which we were cautioned by V.I. Lenin.

The lessons of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalandarishvili in Bokhanskiy Rayon are very instructive for us. It was headed by V. Belyayev for ten years. The farm was well off before that time, with good technical and economic indicators. Under new management it started going down. The chairman practically did not concern himself with reinforcing labor discipline, did not investigate economics, conducted construction poorly and did not resolve many social issues. And as a result, the production indicators fell sharply.

For along time, the party organization of the kolkhoz observed silently while the prestige of the once strong kolkhoz fell. The same could be said of the rayon party committee. Only the intervention of the CPSU obkom halted the deterioration of matters. The kolkhoz was taken over by former chairman and communist V. Popov, and the farm began to be visibly transformed. The yield went up and the production plans for milk, meat and other agricultural products began to be fulfilled. The farm went from losses to profits once again.

We are shifting the center of organizational and political-education work more and more persistently to the labor collectives. This makes it possible to

know better both the people and the state of affairs and to foresee better the end results of both party and production activity. The key employees of the party obkoms spend at least three days a week in the primary organizations.

In uncovering the problems that require immediate attention, we are striving for their broad discussion at meetings with the workers. That is how it was, for example, when we planned measures for improving the state of affairs at the farms of the oblast, and we began holding animal-husbandry days every Thursday. Workers from oblast organizations, the rayon echelon and managers of farms and soviet and professional organs come to the farms on that day. All of the issues vitally important to the workers are resolved on the spot. And the purposeful organizational and educational work among the labor collectives is playing a large role in the fact that animal husbandry in the oblast is undergoing many changes for the better today.

A trend toward raising the development rate of the economy is projected as a result of the restructuring of organizational and educational activity and the growth in the labor activeness of collectives that have begun in the oblast. The volume of industrial production has increased by more than five percent over the ten months of 1986 compared to the same period of last year. The work of the enterprises in the timber, woodworking, paper, electrical-equipment and coal industries that were earlier lagging has improved. The productivity of livestock has grown in animal husbandry, and the plans for the sale of meat, milk and eggs have been overfulfilled. The plan for construction and installation work has been fulfilled in capital construction, and transport has begun to run more precisely.

The party committees of the oblast, following the course projected by the 27th CPSU Congress, are trying to act as political organs, not permitting the substitution of operational, soviet and social organizations. It is impossible not to note, however, that the current level of the work of other central ministries and departments forces the party committees to be occupied with matters that uncharacteristic of them nonetheless—frequently they must intercede in purely operational issues.

Some ministries are trying to "drag through" outdated plans for the technical retooling of enterprises. Thus, the technical plan for the reconstruction of the Irkutsk Cable Plant, approved by the Ministry of the Electrical-Equipment Industry, envisages the partial retooling of production. The wire-drawing machinery of the Alma-Ata Heavy Machine Building Plant that will be installed here does not reach the rated drawing speed, and that speed is itself four times less than analogous foreign machinery. An increase in capacity is planned through increasing the number of workers by 200 people, while return on investment will decline by 17.5 percent. Commentary, I think, is superfluous. And there are many such situations. In the instance cited, the party obkoms has posed to the Ministry of the Electrical-Equipment Industry the question of the inadmissibility of the position employed with regard to the Irkutsk Cable Plant. The reconstruction plan is now being reconsidered.

The party teaches that there are no prepared formulas for how to ensure a sharp acceleration. We should learn on the move, resolving new tasks. And not be afraid to advance boldly forward without fear, to take risks, to take

responsibility. We understand that the restructuring must be done on the march, in the course of the active resolution of economic and social tasks. It is important here to consolidate the growth rate that has been achieved, to reinforce further plan, labor and technological discipline and to improve the quality of products and labor. It is clear that the solution of these problems will require great effort, creativity and initiative from us.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda". "Partiynaya zhizn", 1986.

12821

CSO: 1800/228

REGIONAL ISSUES

LETTERS DECRY DISREGARD FOR ECOLOGY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by R. Fedorov: "The Economy of Nature--Readers Reflect on the Problem"]

[Excerpts] "The economy of nature." That is, the operational system of nature, the fine-tuned mechanism of the interaction of its elements which provides for the production of the large and small natural blessings vitally essential to man. Of which there are those of global significance, such as clean air and water, down to the small ones, such as the fish in the lakes and rivers, the forest berries and mushrooms.

Do we think deeply about these mechanisms of the "economy of nature" when we encroach upon its life? Letters to the editor testify to the fact that pretty often we do not. And moreover, even those who, it would seem, by type of occupation and education should see them clearly, sometimes do not think about them.

Here is an example. The letter of reader G. Beystroyev and a group of other members of the Berezka Garden Society relates that the plots of the gardeners are located at the edge of a forest hillock. This vicinity is good in and of itself. But the timber, furthermore, has an important environmental significance, as the specialists say. It first of all shields the plantings from the northern winds, and secondly, a pure spring comes from under the hill. It is quite apparent: without the woods, the spring would dry up and the microclimate would worsen.

But the question of expanding the garden plots arises. From the point of view of the forest "owners" it had no especial value. That is, no trade value. Had this been a pine or evergreen forest, then probably, the "owners" would have championed its defense and themselves found a different plot for the gardeners. But insofar as it was a birch forest, they lightheartedly gave permission to cut it down. The forest department counts only timber. Springs, the microclimate--they don't concern it.

Who does it concern? Maybe the local soviets?

M. Koksharov, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and of labor, writes to PRAVDA from the town of Bogorodsk in the Oktyabrskiy Rayon of Perm Oblast. The Fakel Oktyabrya Kolchoz is run on the surrounding land. The area of the arable land assimilated by it is about six thousand hectares. But there are not enough workers. They have been unable to complete the harvest from year to year. Both grains and clover gets snowed under. There is much land. Land-improvement specialists are working actively in the rayon.

"In 1985 they uprooted more than ten hectares of forest in one spot, and about five and a half in another. In 1986 they are continuing to dig. There were earlier many mushrooms and berries in these places, animals and birds lived there, and a pretty green grove stood there, but now take a look--piles of trees, buried with dirt..."

We won't look too long at the gloomy portrait painted by the author of the letter. Of course, it is not only piles of trees, shoved by bulldozers from the land made ready for agricultural use, that the land-improvement workers left. Who will till and sow this land and reap the harvest? Are they hoping for new settlers? As a matter of fact, many urbanites are coming to the transformed towns of the Nonchernozem Zone in recent years. But no matter how extensively housing construction is conducted there, however nice the rural roads are made, they will not attract as many homes with modern urban comforts there as that very green and pretty wood with mushrooms and berries and the opportunity to hunt there and go fishing in the clear stream. Cut down the nearby forest, foul the stream with the effluents of animal-husbandry farms, the agricultural-machinery fleet and the fertilizer warehouse, and the most important incentive attracting people to the towns is destroyed.

M. Koksharov relates that he went to the rayon ispolkom with his doubts apropos of the expediency of uprooting the forest. There they heard him out, and even agreed with his reasoning, but... They raised a finger: it isn't us, they said, that thought this up, we have been ordered "from above," from the oblast--give the land-improvement workers an appropriate work front. Maybe that is how it was. Is such a policy of appeasement permissible for local organs, however? Why didn't they stand up for their forest? Why didn't they pose the question that a whole lot more important front for capital investment would be road construction, for example, or else other--there are plenty enough in the towns!--needs? Maybe because in that case the local powers would have had to acknowledge before the "higher-ups" the unadorned fact that unharvested fields were snowed under in the rayon...

I mentioned road construction, toward which--this is the opinion of many readers writing to the newspaper--the chief efforts and powerful equipment of the land-improvement detachments working in the Nonchernozem Zone should be directed. But even a road, however, if it is also laid down without an understanding and a regard for the interconnections of the "economy of nature," is both good and bad.

"I took part in the construction of new cities. These were Kachkanar in the Urals and Mishnevertovsk in West Siberia. I did not participate in the construction of roads. But I have serious complaints to make toward those who

laid them down," writes reader L. Korotkov, today residing in the city of Malakhin in Gorkiy Oblast. He further relates his observations.

"In August of 1979 I took a dirt-fill road with a concrete-alab surface on the Nizhnevartovsk-Urengoy Highway. Dead trees were standing in the low-lying areas along the road. I tried to find out if perhaps this was only near the road itself. But traveling two or three kilometers in, I saw the same thing: dried trunks.

"I saw the same thing in my own areas."

L. Korotkov clearly indicates the reason for the death of the forest—flooding. The fill of the road becomes a dam in the path of spring and rain water flowing from rivers and streams. The backed-up lowlands become a swamp—and this is just one bad thing. Another is that the rivers do not receive enough of their "due" water supply that is intercepted for no need or reason.

There are many such situations. The readers cite the road builders and the consequences of their thoughtless intrusion into nature as the specific address of these bad affairs. G. Kopyltsov, a retiree who worked for a quarter of a century at a metallurgical combine, reports from the city of Cherepovets in Vologda Oblast.

"The road to the city of Belozersk is being reconstructed here. Near the village of Shabanovo Gore it cut off a gully along which water from melted snow flowed to the Shilovka River. They didn't lay a single pipe under the road. Now the water stands on the fill in puddles, grows moldy and "rusts." As a result of this and many such actions, the Shilovka River has stopped."

Nature, as we see, is not threatened by technical progress in and of itself, but a thoughtless and destructive attitude toward it. It is possible to recall such fishing tackle as the seine net. Today its use is forbidden, it is considered poaching.

It can be demonstrated that all of these are trifles—a berry field, a cranberry bog, a spring flowing out from under a mountain, a lowland on which melted snow runs to the river only in the spring. But the harmony of nature is formed of trifles. Biologists say that without these cranberries, if they do not remain in the swamp for the bears, they will not crawl into their dens in the winter and will wander the forests idly. Without the spring and the sips of melted snow, the rivers will grow shallow. And maybe most important is the fact that the everyday neglect of "trifles" leads to the loss of the ability to understand nature and interact rationally with it.

The letter from reader H. Ivanov from the town of Melikhovyy in Chaplyginitskiy Rayon of Lipetsk Oblast is curious on that plane. Here, as he writes, the Stanovaya Ryassa River flows to the Voronezh River.

"Recently it was full of water and there was a dam in it that held water year round. The elders died, the mills were no longer needed, and the dam ceased to operate. The river grew shallow, the more so as much water from it was

collected by irrigation installations. The whole town stretched along the river banks. About eight years ago they tried to build a dam near the town of Kolybel'skiy. It only held water in the summer, and the pond was let out in the winter. Notwithstanding this, the dam did not exist for long: the water washed it away. Interesting: which was stronger--the concrete or the brush and wooden stakes, with the aid of which our forefathers built a dam that held water year round and even during floods?"

Nech takes shape from "trifles." And perhaps our reader M. Nechkin from the city of Borovichi in Novgorod Oblast, replying to the article "Across the Fairway" which discussed the problems that can arise in implementing the Danube--Dnepr Canal, is correct.

"It seems to me," he writes, "that the waterway workers are too distracted by gigantic projects. After all, there are other ways. I have studied the map attentively, and here is what strikes me: such major rivers as the Dnepr the Prut, the South Bug and the Ingul flow in the southern Ukraine and Moldavia, and besides them, there are quite a few small rivers and streams. Some of them are shown on the map to be drying up. Why are they drying up? The banks are unforested and there are no dams. The spring waters are carried without hindrance from the fields right to the ocean or the estuaries, carrying with them the arable part of the soil and reducing the level of subsoil water. Have the planners taken into account this variant for providing water for these regions: plant forests in the bank areas of the rivers and all of their tributaries and build dams?"

Of course, the proposal expressed by our reader is speculative. Never mind discussing the water equation--that is, whether the planting of forests and the construction of dams on small rivers will amass a quantity of water comparable to the mass carried to the sea by the mighty Danube. Forestry is labor-intensive in and of itself, and trees do not grow all at once, but over many long years. His desire to investigate the "economy of nature" is attractive, however, his aspiration--if it is expressed in the language of pressing problems--to seek out ways of improving its mechanism of economic operation. It is probably this very aspiration that is lacking among our waterways organs and planners, thinking neither about the sources of water nor about its zealous utilization, but preferring to patch tears in the water equation with large-scale "transfers," which threatens to turn out as the effect of the widely known Trishkin caftan.

I want to turn to V.V. Dolouchayev once again. His renowned book "Our Steppes Then and Now," born during a time of severe drought, poor harvests and hunger in 1891, concludes with a chapter on ways of straightening out water management in the steppes of Russia. "Every uyezd that adjoins a section of river," he proposed, "would have three or four specialists working: a) a natural scientist, b) an engineer, c) a forestry specialist (at the discretion of the chief, the number of engineers and forestry specialists could be reduced) and d) a surveyor..."

It is noteworthy that the list of specialists is headed by a natural scientist--today he would be called an ecologist. Any plan for utilizing the productive forces of nature should begin with an evaluation from the point of

view of economy and end with an indispensable ecological expert review. Not one building is placed in service without a fire-inspection certificate, not one high-pressure container without a boiler inspection, not one mine without a mine inspection. But after all, other consequences of a poorly thought-out incursion into the "economy of nature" are more dangerous and harmful than a fire, the explosion of a tank with compressed air or even a mineshaft cave-in. Apparently, a strict system of ecological inspection is becoming vitally necessary--possibly conducted by the republic committees for the preservation of nature or other authoritative hands.

12821

CSO: 1800/240

REGIONAL ISSUES

LETTERS SCORE INDIFFERENCE TO ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Moscow **PRAVDA** in Russian 22 Nov 86 p 2

[Letter to the editor by L. Bayeva, member of the Asot Association apparatus and member of the Standing Commission of the Oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies for Protecting the Environment, Kamurovo, under the rubric "Letter to the Editor": "Why Don't the Interests Coincide?"]

[Text] The idea of turning to the editors entered my head as early as the days of the 27th Party Congress, to which I was fortunate enough to have been a delegate. Everything discussed there was moving and exciting and left no one indifferent. But the words that we who are living today must answer for nature before our progeny and before history, spoken in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, touch on a most burning issue for me and my countrymen.

Visiting other cities that are blessed, so to speak, in an ecological sense, you breathe in the fresh air deeply and delight in the blueness of the clear sky. Returning to your own city, you inhale involuntarily, and why has a clear sky become such a rarity for us? And take our Tom River. Here we have already "overstepped" the boundaries of our oblast. The enterprises of the city, dumping harmful substances into the river, have deprived the residents of Tomsk of the opportunity of taking water from it for drinking purposes. They have had to seek another source of water supply.

It is true that much is being said these days about this. The party organizations of the city are trying with all of their might and resources to wage a struggle among the collectives against the violators of technological discipline, and work on cultivating a careful attitude toward nature among people has become more animated. Take our Asot Association. Conditions have been developed here for competition in protecting the environment, and the results are totaled regularly.

Significant results have really not yet been achieved, however. The construction and start-up of new capacity concerns association and, apparently, sector managers more. Naturally, there is nothing bad in the fact that the association is developing. The misfortune is something else: this is happening in a one-sided manner. For example, in the last five-year plan we increased the output of mineral fertilizers by 3.6 times. Now the ministry is

planning on almost the same growth. But the protective and cleaning structures for the chemical enterprises are being built, unfortunately, in wretched fashion. The builders are fulfilling the plans for nature-protection facilities by no more than 50-60 percent. In the Zavodskoy Rayon of the city alone, more than thirty cleaning structures were not started up for this reason over the last five year plan, and more than 15 million rubles earmarked for this purpose were not assimilated.

The same thing is repeated from year to year. The construction workers, notwithstanding a multitude of promises and assurances, do not alter their attitudes toward nature-protection facilities. And that is not surprising: they know that it will not do them much good not to start up productive capacity in time. For cleaning structures they will be rebuked, and that is all. And the party rayon and the Kemerovo Gorkom, judging from everything, look askance at this practice.

And I have this observation for the party committees: they do not have enough of a principled nature and enough consistency in the solution of problems of protecting the environment. The year before last, plenums and meetings were held in all party organizations of the oblast where organizational and technical measures for protecting nature right up to 1990 were developed. In particular, the bringing of effluents into line with allowable norms and the resettlement of about twenty thousand residents from the sanitary-protection zones of the enterprises to newly constructed housing in the shortest possible time were projected. Whatever else one says, a solid program. But what was projected was not fulfilled. First and foremost it was stated that representatives of the ministries with enterprises in Kemerovo tried to begin the program with proposals for a technical procedure, and basically through the construction and creation of cleaning installations and structures. How they were built, we already know. But the ones that were placed in operation were far from perfect.

The sector staffs, proceeding, I feel, from narrow departmental interests, took the path of least difficulty for themselves. After all, it was possible to find a different solution. It is well known that in Kemerovo the number of chemical enterprises exceeds allowable norms. Why didn't the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers halt the expansion of production volume at Azot (it is already large enough) and take up capital repair and the replacement of obsolete equipment, creating at the same time an efficient system of nature-protection structures, as it should? But no, no construction of new capacity for this is planned in this five-year plan. This year, for example, Azot will start up yet another large ammonia production facility. A surplus of this product will appear at the enterprise with its start-up. This means that it is necessary to build another carbamide shop. The Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers plans to begin its construction in 1987.

"Why put another large production facility in the oblast center, where people can barely breathe as it is without it?" was the question posed to the representatives of the ministry at the party obkom. "After all, it is possible to build it in one of the smaller cities not far from Kemerovo and feed the ammonia there by pipe."

And this gave rise to the objection: this will cause a need, they said, for additional manpower and funds. Once again a concern for everything but people!

Why don't our interests coincide? This happens because there is still no strong barrier to departmental aspirations in Kemerovo. The ministries continue to conduct their policies in our region any way it suits them. The construction of nature-protection, social and cultural facilities is necessarily placed in dependence on the construction of new capacity. Furthermore, the funds allocated for the protection of nature are not always expended for that purpose.

It is finally time for the city and oblast soviets of peoples' deputies to really make use of the rights granted to them and not to approve the enterprise economic and social development plans if they do not contain real and effective measures for protecting the environment.

There is also not enough everyday monitoring of the protection of nature. The decrees adopted by the inspectorates on the suspension of individual shops and types of production are not always fulfilled. "Extreme measures" are probably needed: halt production and relieve people of their duties, if it is obvious that improvements in their work cannot be foreseen. The organs of the procuracy must act more decisively with regard to violators of discipline as well.

Ecological problems must be resolved today. The greatest wealth of our country is the person. And no matter how important caprolactam and carbamide are for the national economy in and of themselves, their production should be carried out to the benefit, not the detriment, of the people.

12821

CSC: 1800/240

REGIONAL ISSUES

BRIEFS

IZVESTIYA REPORT ON PRIVATE TAXIS IN RIGA—Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 January 1987 carries on page 2, a 1,100-word Riga-dated report entitled "Taxi Without A Green Light," under the "People and the Services Sphere" rubric, by own correspondent Ye Vostrukhov. The author reports on a 3-month experiment begun 15 January in Riga on the initiative of the Gorispolkom whereby private car-owners are allowed to use their vehicles as taxis. Drivers must be recommended by primary organizations of the Society of Automobile Enthusiasts, meet high moral and professional criteria, and have a clean driving record in recent years (a single drunk-driving offense is sufficient to rule them out); their working hours are subject to regulation. At the end of the experimental period the results will be analyzed by the Gorispolkom Passenger Transport and Communications Department together with the Finance Administration and the Society of Automobile Enthusiasts and proposals submitted to the Gorispolkom. According to a department chief of the Latvian Central Council of Automobile Enthusiasts, the experiment "seems successful." He also points out that "1,200-1,300 state taxis operate in the city daily and the appearance of another 50-60 does not constitute competition. But we'll have to wait and see. The experiment has only just begun." [Editorial Report] PM/12858

CSO: 1800/250

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

2 APRIL 87